A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF COLOURED GAY MEN'S LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES AND THE INTERSECTIONS OF KAAPS AND GAYLE AS PERFORMATIVE LINGUISTIC VARIETIES

By

Tasneem Plato

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Supervisor: Dr Lauren Danger Mongie
Co-supervisor: Dr Marcelyn Oostendorp

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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Tasneem Plato

December 2021

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late mother, Rholda Plato, who is my door to paradise in this world and in the hereafter, insha-Allah ameen.

الْجَنَّةُ تَحْتَ أَقْدَامِ الأُمَّهَات»؛ رواه ابن عدي

Aljannatu tagtadaami ummahaat- paradise is under the feet of thy mother.

(Ibn-Adi R.A.)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the lived language experiences of nine self-identified coloured gay men in South Africa, with the aim of understanding their linguistic repertoires, the use and functions thereof, the affective dimensions that shape their lived language experiences, and the choices that motivate their linguistic practices. This study is particularly interested in the intersectionalities of Kaaps and Gayle and how they function alongside each other and other language codes in the construction of identity. As such, this study is informed by sociolinguistic theory, such as performativity (Butler 1988, 1990, 1993; Bell and Gibson 2011), Queer Linguistics (Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Motschenbacher 2011) and Raciolinguistics (Alim 2016; Rosa and Flores 2017), all of which view identity as something that is fluid, flexible, and temporary. Furthermore, this study takes an intersectional approach in understanding the multifaceted complexity of marginalised individuals' lived experiences and identities (Crenshaw 1989:139). Additionally, it takes a linguistic repertoire approach in understanding the influence of ideology on speakers' lived language experiences and in understanding the speaker as a subject shaped in and through language and discourse (Busch 2017:346).

This study is grounded in a sociolinguistic analysis of completed language portraits, a multimodal instrument aimed at eliciting biographical narratives (Busch 2012:510), which is increasingly being used in applied linguistics research (Bristowe, Oostendorp, and Anthonissen 2014; Prasad 2016; Busch 2018; and Singer 2018). In this study, it elicited narratives surrounding, among other things, speakers' attitudes toward their linguistic repertoires, and language practices, functions, and ideologies. This interview data was interpreted through a sociolinguistic and discourse analytical lens.

This study has gained insight into the complexity of the various ways of speaking that make up the linguistic repertoires of a group of coloured gay men, and into the interconnectedness of the identities constructed by them. Results from this study revealed that English is viewed as an indicator of success and professionalism, whereas Afrikaans is viewed as unimportant, as a language associated with white people, and as a tool of exclusion. The use of both English and Afrikaans are shown to result in anxiety and fear of negative judgement. Furthermore, Kaaps and Gayle were found to be the ways of speaking participants display the most emotional attachment to. These ways of speaking are used to construct their identity as coloured gay men and provides a sense of belonging and freedom. Results further revealed that Kaaps and Gayle are viewed as sites of overcoming hardship and oppression as it is used as strategies of

reclamation and resistance. However, participants sometimes avoid the use of Kaaps and/or Gayle to mask their racial and/or sexual identities. Lastly, this study found that participants express the desire to learn, and improve their proficiency in, particular languages, and this desire often results from a need to be able to communicate with others.

This study adds to the body of knowledge which acknowledges the complexity of the linguistic repertoire and its' usefulness in exploring how speakers use their linguistic resources to construct multiple identities and position themselves in diverse environments.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie tesis ondersoek die ervaarde taalervarings van nege self-geïdentifiseerde bruin gay mans in Suid-Afrika, met die doel om hulle talige repertoires, die gebruik en funksies daarvan, die affektiewe dimensies wat hulle beleefde taalervarings vorm, en die keuses wat hulle talige praktyke motiveer, te verstaan. Hierdie studie stel veral belang in die interseksionaliteite van Kaaps en Gayle en hoe hierdie maniere van praat langs mekaar funksioneer asook tesame met ander taalkodes in die konstruksie van identiteit. As sulks word hierdie studie belig deur sosiolinguistiese teorie, soos performatiwiteit (Butler 1988, 1990, 1993; Bell en Gibson 2011), Queer-linguistiek (Bucholtz en Hall 2004; Motschenbacher 2011) en Rasselinguistiek (Alim 2016; Rosa en Flores 2017), wat almal identiteit beskou as iets wat vloeibaar, buigbaar, en tydelik is. Verder neem hierdie studie ’n interseksionele benadering om die veelvlakkige kompleksiteit van gemarginaliserde individue se beleefde ervarings en identiteite te verstaan (Crenshaw 1989:139). Dit neem ook ’n talige repertoire-benadering om die invloed van ideologie op sprekers se ervaarde taalbelewenisse te verstaan, asook om die spreker te sien as ’n onderwerp wat in en deur taal en diskoers gevorm word (Busch 2017:346).

Hierdie studie is gevestig in ’n sosiolinguistiese analise van voltooide taalportrette, ’n multimodale navorsingsinstrument om biografiese narratiewe te ontlok (Busch 2012:510), wat toenemend gebruik word in toegepaste linguistiese navorsing (Bristowe, Oostendorp, en Anthonissen 2014; Prasad 2016; Busch 2018; en Singer 2018). In hierdie studie het dit narratiewe ontlok rondom, onder andere, sprekers se houdings teenoor hul talige repertoires, en talige praktyke, funksies, en taalideologieë. Die onderhouddata is geïnterpreteer deur ’n sosiolinguistiese en diskoersanalitiese lens.

Hierdie studie het insig verleen in die kompleksiteit van die verskeie maniere van praat wat die talige repertoires van ’n groep bruin gay mans beslaan, asook insig in die onderlinge verbintenis van die identiteite wat daardeur gekonstrueer word. Die resultate van hierdie studie het getoon dat Engels beskou word as ’n aanduider van sukses en professionalisme, terwyl Afrikaans as onbelangrik beskou word, as ’n taal wat geassosieer word met wit mense, en as ’n middel tot uitsluiting. Daar word getoon dat die gebruik van beide Engels en Afrikaans lei tot angs en ’n vrees vir negatiewe beoordeling. Verder is daar gevind dat Kaaps en Gayle die maniere van praat is waarteenoor die deelnemers die meeste emosionele verbintenis toon. Hierdie maniere van praat word gebruik om hul identiteit as bruin gay mans te konstrueer, en verskaf ’n sin van samehorigheid en vryheid. Resultate van hierdie studie het verder getoon dat Kaaps en Gayle

beskou word as hulpbronne om swaarkry en onderdrukking te oorkom, deurdat dit gebruik word as strategieë tot terugeising en weerstand. Tog vermy deelnemers soms die gebruik van Kaaps en Gayle om hul rassige en/of seksuele identiteite te verbloem. Laastens het hierdie studie bevind dat deelnemers ’n begeerte het om spesifieke tale aan te leer en hul vlotheid daarin te verbeter. Hierdie begeerte is dikwels weens ’n behoefte om met ander te kan kommunikeer.

Hierdie studie dra by tot die bestaande kennisveld wat erkenning gee aan die kompleksiteit van die talige repertoire en die nut daarvan om te ondersoek hoe sprekers hul talige hulpbronne gebruik om veelvuldige identiteite te konstrueer en hulself in diverse omgewings te posisioneer.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Rationale

Kaaps, a non-standard language variety of Afrikaans, and Gayle, a language variety used primarily by many coloured gay[1] men, are linguistic varieties that developed primarily from the coloured population of Cape Town and are frequently used in South Africa (le Cordeur 2016:96; Mulligan 2018:16). Although much literature exists on Kaaps (See, for example, Malan 1996; Willemse 2012; Dyers 2016; Hendricks 2016; le Cordeur 2016; van Heerden 2016; van der Rheede 2016; van der Waal 2012; Stroud and Williams 2017), the topic of Gayle remains an under-explored area of research. More so, to my knowledge there is currently no traceable published research that investigates Kaaps and Gayle alongside each other and/or alongside other ways of speaking, even though most coloured gay speakers of Gayle are also speakers of Kaaps and vice versa, and these speakers also make use of other ways of speaking. Kaaps and Gayle both function alongside and in interaction with other ways of speaking, and as such, various characteristics of different linguistic varieties are used every day in different social contexts for different purposes. This study[2] is therefore novel because unlike the research that examines Kaaps and Gayle separately, this study investigates them together and alongside other linguistic resources, and as such, it acknowledges the creativity, resourcefulness, and heterogeneity of speakers' identities and their linguistic repertoires.

In this study, speakers of Kaaps and Gayle primarily identified as coloured and gay men, and as such, this study deals with racial, gendered, and sexual identities or systems of social categorisation. As this study aims to avoid reducing identity to race or sexuality, or viewing individuals as only speakers of Kaaps and/or Gayle, it is firstly concerned with understanding the linguistic repertoires of the speakers in this study, the affective dimensions and ideologies that shape their linguistic repertoires, and the functions of their linguistic repertoires in their daily lives. These speakers, as coloured gay men, may or may have experience(d) judgement,

[1] The terms coloured and gay are not used in this study in an essentialist manner. Rather, the negotiated and contested nature of these terms, as well the heterogenous identities and affiliations people who identify as coloured and gay have, are taken into account. Thus, the fact that individuals may reject, embrace or use these terms for strategic purposes are considered. With that said, each participant in this study self-identified as coloured and as gay and no definitions of these terms have been imposed on them. Instead, this study encourages discussion around what these terms mean for participants. Moreover, I have decided not to capitalise the first letter of the terms 'coloured', 'black', or 'white' since these terms are made-up, socially constructed labels that has served (and still do) as a categorical system to define people and create unequal power and opportunities.

[2] This study is an extension of my Honours research (Plato 2017) which will be discussed in chapter 2, section 2.2.3.2.5.

not as the additive consequences of discrimination based on sexuality, gender and/or race, but as specific instantiation of a complex intersection of the categories combined. Therefore, adopting an intersectional approach could make a significant linguistic and social contribution to the topic under study as an analysis of social meaning in the field of Sociolinguistics to date has been largely compartmentalised (Levon 2015:296). The focus on the intersections between Kaaps and Gayle and the linguistic performance of racial and sexual identities is therefore motivated by the lack of research in South Africa that interlink these identities and the social forces that motivate the linguistic choices and practices of these speakers.

Furthermore, because the gay community in South Africa was just as divided in terms of the racial classifications of Apartheid as the rest of South African society, one cannot not ignore the fact that coloured, black and white gay communities had different experiences of being gay (Tucker 2009:3). Acknowledging these different experiences and allowing speakers in this study to narrate their own feelings, attitudes, and stories is therefore an attempt to bring the lived language experiences of being coloured gay men in a post-Apartheid South Africa, to light. Considering that Kaaps and Gayle both have highly stigmatised and marginalised historical backgrounds, a present-day study could contribute to heightening the status of, and changing negative perceptions associated with these ways of speaking and their speakers. A present-day study could also shed light on how speakers' linguistic repertoires play a role in the (re)construction of identity by exploring the connections between the various social influences that motivate their linguistic practice. More specifically, delving into these topics can provide insight into the role that language plays in the construction of coloured gay men's identities. It can also provide insight into how coloured gay men position themselves in relation to their surroundings and in relation to freedom, discrimination, rights and access, and how they experience being positioned in South African society after three decades of democracy.

The motivation behind this study is also, to a large extent, based on personal experiences with self-identified coloured members of the LGBTI+ community who more often than not, speak Kaaps and Gayle as a means of expressing their identities. The fact that I also identify as coloured and as an ally to the coloured and gay community and have close friends who also self-identify as coloured and gay and who speak Kaaps and Gayle in my presence and sometimes to me, is also what sparked my interest in these topics.

1.2. Background

Language has always been a sensitive and political subject in the South African context. As this study focusses on the coloured population, one of the most diverse indigenous groups in South Africa, it is important to view both Kaaps and Gayle from a sociolinguistic perspective as both ways of speaking have socio-political backgrounds of marginalisation and stigmatisation (Cage 2003:1; le Cordeur 2016:92; Mulligan 2018:16; Willemse 2012:80). Thus, to provide a background to this study, and since no literature discusses Kaaps and Gayle together, the following section will briefly introduce and discuss Kaaps and then Gayle will follow.

1.2.1. Kaaps in context

Although Afrikaans is the mother-tongue of most coloured people who reside in the Western Cape province of South Africa, most of these people do not identify with the white Afrikaans speakers who share their language due to South Africa's history of colonisation and the enslavement of the ancestors of the "Cape Coloureds"[3] (Dyers 2007:86). Moreover, these coloured people have also never expressed similar "emotional investment in keeping the language pure" (Dyers 2007:86 citing McCormick 1989:206) that is often found in white Afrikaans speakers. Rather, the majority of this population identifies with the variety of Afrikaans that they use in their daily communication, which is described as a mixed code that includes many English loanwords. Adam Small, a poet and a pioneer in the promotion of Kaaps, popular rap and hip-hop artists making use of Kaaps, and successful theatrical productions such as Ghoema! and Joe Barber, all provide confirmation of coloured people's strong attachment and identification with this variety (Dyers 2007:86). For some, Kaaps functions as a primary language code in almost all situations whereas for others, it is a secondary or occasional code used mainly for informal interaction (Hendricks 2016:31).

Though its speakers are aware of the low status of Kaaps in comparison to the so-called standard Afrikaans that is used by more economically powerful white Afrikaans speakers, Kaaps possesses a strong vitality in the working-class townships of the Cape Flats - a large area situated on the boundary of Cape Town that people of colour were forcibly moved to as a result of 1950s Group Areas Act during Apartheid (Dyers 2007:86). This act, which was imposed by

[3] Here, the term "Cape Coloureds" refers to coloured people who reside in the Western Cape province of South Africa, primarily in and around Cape Town, and who are the focus of this study. This group was classified as "Cape Coloureds" during the Apartheid era (Dyers 2007:86; le Cordeur 2016:96).

the apartheid government, forced people all over South Africa out of their traditional neighbourhoods and in Cape Town, this resulted in coloured people being forced out of District Six into Mitchell's Plain and other areas on the Cape Flats. Due to the fact that different groups within the Afrikaans community lived apart for so long, these groups grew apart linguistically as well and as such, speakers of Standard Afrikaans and speakers of Kaaps ultimately became entwined in an "us and them" relationship (le Cordeur 2016:88).

Although there has been greater acknowledgement of this more recently, the role of the coloured population in the development of Afrikaans has been largely ignored. Most coloured people that live in Cape Town today still have Afrikaans as their mother-tongue and have the ability to change language codes by codeswitching between standard Afrikaans, English and Kaaps (le Cordeur 2016:96). Le Cordeur (2016:96) claims that "the opinion[s] of nearly three million people for whom Kaaps is a home language, a religious language, a cultural language and an emotional language", are constantly dismissed in discussions about the formation, development, and existence of Afrikaans. Furthermore, the standardisation of Afrikaans was politically motivated as it was racially informed by Apartheid ideology and Afrikaner nationalism, and does not represent the complete language community of Afrikaans. The aim was to deny the creole nature of Afrikaans and for standard Afrikaans to be viewed as a language spoken by "civilised" people, while other variants like Kaaps were to be viewed as a language spoken by those who are "uncivilised" (le Cordeur 2016:91). With the onset of democracy in South Africa, Afrikaans shares equal official status with other languages (le Cordeur 2016:96), however, it is still a language that dominates many aspects of South African society. The role of coloured voices in this new dispensation will depend on the willingness to abandon old ways of thinking about race, as racism remains prevalent in South Africa even though it is now widely seen to be unacceptable (le Cordeur 2016:96).

1.2.2. Gayle in context

Gayle is part of the phenomenon of Lavender Languages, which refers to gay languages that are found around the world and thrive in societies where oppressed gay communities are situated (Cage 2003:18). Typically, Lavender Languages have a political history, and this is especially true in South Africa as the Apartheid government was committed to creating an essentialist society and establishing white privilege, and therefore placed high priority on heterosexual marriage, reproduction, and family. In order to achieve this goal, the government created severe social and racial conditions to decide when procreative sexual activity would be

acceptable, and used particular rules about sexuality as a way of monitoring and controlling people during the Apartheid regime (Leap 2004:138). An example of this is the Immorality Act of 1957, which made it possible for male homosexuality to be "publically articulated and acted upon by the state" (Elder 1995:56 cited in Luyt 2014:10). Because so much of human existence relies on and is influenced by language, an outcome of this oppression was that gay individuals needed to be able to talk secretly to each other. Such a communicative tool was indispensable in upholding their secret identities as gay men and escaping imprisonment and persecution (Cage 2003:17).

According to Luyt (2014:8), Gayle was born from the "*moffie*"[4] subculture that emerged within the coloured communities of Cape Town in the 1950s. This subculture was often manifested through drag performances in which coloured gay men would wear women's clothing and make-up (Mongie 2013:35). These performances represented a form of "symbolic autonomy and freedom" (Tucker 2009: 77) and served as "public markers of disruption to apartheid conceptions of race, gender and sexuality" (Swarr 2004:79), as the goal of such performances was to embody a "convincing femininity" and to "pass" as a woman (Swarr 2004:85). These performances allowed coloured gay men to start using humour as a way of refuting the negative perceptions of homosexuality and making light of uncomfortable situations as homosexuality was illegal in the country and frowned upon by religious people and organisations (Gevisser and Cameron 1994:117). Through drag, humour, and cross dressing, these men were able to "create a fantasy of desire and joviality in the way that they dress and impersonate the opposite of their 'biological gender' therefore seemingly defying the limits of their own body with a kind of androgynous effect" (Luyt 2014:22). The overall tolerance of this thriving subculture is for the most part attributed to the lack of homogeneity in coloured communities (Gevisser 1995: 28 cited in Mongie 2013:35) as well as the coloured gay community's "shared sense of struggle" (Tucker 2009:77). The Cape Coon Carnival, a tradition that dates back to 1907 and arose from drag culture, gave gay men the opportunity to express this shared sense of struggle and functioned as a form of resistance toward apartheid and white rule as it allowed them to perform particular identities that were considered unacceptable and thus to challenge and resist heteronormativity (Gevisser and Cameron 1994:117). To this day, participation in drag activities and viewing drag shows remains an important part of gay life for gay men.

[4] The word *moffie*, a term which is reclaimed by coloured gay men, refers to a derogatory label used to refer to gay and/or feminine boys and men.

Four decades later, South Africa's new Bill of Rights of 1996 stressed equality and freedom, and South Africa became one of the first countries worldwide to include a section on sexual orientation in its constitution. Ten years later, South Africa also changed its legislation and became the first country in Africa to legalise same-sex marriage (Rudwick 2010:112). The constitution of South Africa intends to make up for the atrocities of apartheid by applying laws that create a society where there is respect and tolerance for all, including those with different sexual orientations (Rudwick 2010:113). Nonetheless, hate crimes and various forms of homophobia remain prevalent to this day, and LGBTI+ people continue to live in a society that is fraught with inherent disparities and vast political, social and economic inconsistencies (Swarr 2004:74).

1.3. Locating the study theoretically

The theoretical points of departure outlined here complement one another in this study in the sense that they deal with particular identities and its relation to language. All theoretical concepts and subfields presented here form part of the broader field of Sociolinguistics and are therefore used together in this study in order to gain a deeper understanding of the identities and the linguistic resources and practices in question. Combined, these theoretical concepts and subfields contribute to research of social meaning where focusses of race, gender, sexuality, and language are not compartmentalised but are rather studied together and viewed through the lenses of different, albeit related theoretical concepts and subfields.

This study is situated within the field of Sociolinguistics, which can be described as the study of how languages, dialects, and varieties of languages are used in political, economic, and social ways as it deals with the role that language plays in society and comprises a wide array of methods and approaches to investigate and ask questions about language (Deckert and Vickers 2011:2). It enables the investigation of how identities in any given situation are linguistically constructed and co-constructed, thereby attempting to correlate linguistic variation with social identity categories (Deckert and Vickers 2011:3). In line with more recent work on the concept of identity as 'constructed' or 'performed', this study takes a post-structuralist approach to language and identity by focusing on the interconnectedness and complexity of various identities. As such, it views identity as something which is continuous, fluid, flexible and temporary (Hall 1996:19; Butler 1988:519; Fought 2011:238).

As this study deals with Gayle, which is a language primarily associated with sexuality, it makes use of Queer Linguistics as one lens through which the data is interpreted. Queer Linguistics is a subfield of Sociolinguistics and can be described as "critical heteronormativity research" (Motschenbacher 2011:150) as it focusses on the linguistic practices of the LGBTI+ community, such as the use of Lavender Languages and how individuals construct their sexuality and gender discursively (Rudwick 2010:128). This study also deals with Kaaps, a linguistic variety primarily associated with race and as such, it makes use of Raciolinguistics, a recent academic field focusing on the theorisation of historic and present-day "co-naturalization" of language and race (Rosa and Flores 2017:622). It is both a field which largely focusses on race and takes an intersectional approach in understanding race as always produced in conjunction with many different forms of social variation, and thus encourages researchers to view race as always intersecting with gender and sexuality (Alim 2016:25).

Furthermore, this study takes an intersectional approach in its exploration of identity and identity-linked linguistic practices. Intersectionality highlights the multifaceted complexity of marginalised individuals' lived experiences (Crenshaw 1989:139). Intersectionality emphasises that individuals' lives, experiences and the structure of power in society, in terms of social inequality, are better recognised as being formed not by a single axis of social separation, but by several axes that influence one another (Hill Collins and Bilge 2016:np) As such, Intersectionality theory provides a means to view experience as that which is shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways and to understand the intersections of social forces that motivate speakers' linguistic practices.

In line with recent sociolinguistic conceptualisations of identity as fluid, flexible and temporary, this study also takes into account the performative nature of language, which has gained much interest in recent Sociolinguistics, and which enables one to understand the connection between language and identity in a way that emphasises the constructive influence of language in the creation of identity (Pennycook 2004:13). Performativity can be understood as the "reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains" (Butler 1993:2). It highlights the process of agentive action and intentional representation of language in creating social meaning (Bell and Gibson 2011:559) and can be understood as a way of performing acts of identity as a continuous chain of cultural and social performances (Pennycook 2004:8). Performing "acts of identity" and the construction of identity through iteration indicates that language can be understood as a product of performative acts (Pennycook 2004:14).

In keeping with post-structuralist perspectives on language, this study adopts Busch's (2017:346) conceptualisation of the linguistic repertoire, which include the dimension of linguistic ideologies and also the lived experiences of language, by placing focus on understanding the speaker as a subject shaped in and through language and discourse. This approach brings to light awareness of language ideologies and power relations that mark particular linguistic categories as inadequate and flawed, and of the possible transformative power of linguistic resources and strategies speakers can depend on (Busch 2016:9).

1.4. Research aims and questions

Drawing from qualitative data, this study aims to investigate the opinions of interview participants who self-identify as coloured gay men. The aim is to understand their linguistic repertoires, the use and functions thereof, the affective dimensions that shape their lived language experiences, and the choices that motivate their linguistic practices.

The research questions addressed in this study are:

1) What are the linguistic repertoires of coloured gay men?
2) Which ways of speaking are used by coloured gay men to construct identity, and how do they use them to do so?
3) What are the affective dimensions that shape the interactions and perceptions towards and around the linguistic repertoires of coloured gay men?
4) Which identities are foregrounded in particular contexts and which ways of speaking are chosen to foreground these identities?

Overall, the aim is to understand what intersectionalities of Kaaps and Gayle are, and how these ways of speaking function alongside each other and alongside other language codes when looking at the construction and performance of identity?

1.5. Methodology

1.5.1. Research design

This study is located in the qualitative paradigm of research. In line with the qualitative data collection process, the data was primarily collected from personal interviews. The interviews are based on completed language portraits, in which participants are instructed to reflect on and then graphically represent their ways of speaking using different colours in a supplied body silhouette (Busch 2012:511). These language portraits were used to elicit narratives surrounding language resources, practices, and attitudes. As such, this study makes use of a multimodal method, which provides both visual and narrative descriptions of participants lived experiences of languages, and which allows interpretations about how speakers view their linguistic repertoire to be made.

1.5.2. Participants

The research pool consisted of 9 participants, who are between the ages of eighteen and thirty, self-identify as coloured, gay, and male, and know about or speak Kaaps, Gayle and/or both to a certain degree.

1.5.3. Data Analysis

An analytical tool used to organise and analyse the dataset in detail is Thematic Analysis, the process of "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke 2006:79). Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step approach is used in this study as a technique to assist in the search for insight, by focusing on and describing emerging themes which aligns closely with the topic under study. This approach is followed in a continuous back and forth process between the dataset as a whole, the encoded fragments of the data, and the analysis of the data.

To describe the data in detail and to further make sense of the themes identified, this study takes a discourse analytical approach to studying language in use. Discourse Analysis can be described as the study of language in use, which involves saying, doing, and being (Gee 2014:31). While leaning on Gee's (2014:8) approach, which views meaning as an integration of ways of saying (informing), doing (action), and being (identity), this study will also use van Dijk's (1991, 1993,1995, 1998) toolkit to demonstrate how Gee's (2014) building tasks are discursively constructed in the data.

1.5.4. Ethical considerations

I have received ethical clearance to conduct this research. The letter stating this can be found in appendix A. A consent form, which can be found in appendix B, was signed by all participants. This confirmed that they understood what was required of them and that they were aware that participation was voluntary, that responses are anonymous, and that there would be no payment for their participation. The consent form also ensured that they were aware that they may withdraw at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions they do not want to and remain in the study. By signing the consent form, permission was granted to record and use the interviews as data for this study.

1.6. Chapter outline

Following chapter 1, the first half of chapter 2 focusses on Kaaps and the critical issues involved in understanding its development, its linguistic features, how the standardisation of Afrikaans led to the marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps and its speakers, and the significance of Kaaps as part of the schooling curriculum and in constructing coloured identity. The second part of this literature review provides a discussion of Lavender Languages, with particular focus on Gayle, highlighting its origins, its linguistic features, its functions, and its domains of use, and showing how previous research on Gayle either aligns with or contradicts each other. The structure and topics making up this chapter is partly because Kaaps and Gayle as ways of speaking that function alongside each other lacks attention in the available literature. Therefore, Kaaps and Gayle are discussed separately as the existing literature focusses only on Kaaps or only on Gayle. The structure and topics making up this chapter is also partly due to the fact that these are both are marginalised and stigmatised ways of speaking associated with marginalised and stigmatised identities.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed overview of the sociolinguistic framework used in which this study. It focusses on sociolinguistic perspectives of language, identity, gender, sexuality and race. It discusses the relevance of Queer Linguistics, Raciolinguistics and Intersectionality in this study. It also focusses on the notion of performativity and the concept of the linguistic repertoire as theoretical concepts relevant for the analysis of data of this study.

Chapter 4 explains the research design, data collection instruments and procedure, and participant recruitment of this study. It also describes the analytical methodology used in this study by firstly discussing Thematic Analysis and how and why this method is beneficial for

organising the data based on emerging patterns. Secondly, it provides a brief discussion of Discourse Analysis and some of its analytical tools, with the aim of explaining how it is used to gain insight into speakers' construction of their social realities, and how it is used to analyse speakers' ideologies and perceptions toward their linguistic repertoires.

Chapter 5 provides an in-depth analysis of the language portraits together with the interviews and accordingly of the themes and subthemes identified in the data. It gives a clear picture of the use of the analytical tools discussed in chapter 4 and of the linkage to the sociolinguistic theoretical framework discussed in chapter 3.

Chapter 6 provides a discussion of the main findings presented in this study. It also considers the strengths and limitations of this study and makes recommendations for future studies.

1.7. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the rationale of this study and provided a brief background to Kaaps and Gayle. It also provided a brief overview of the theoretical points of departure and explained the research aims and questions. Furthermore, it provided a summary of the methodology used in this study and lastly, laid out a chapter outline. As mentioned in the section above, the following chapter will discuss literature on Kaaps and on Gayle, focusing on the origins, linguistic features and functions, and on their marginalised and stigmatised status in South African society.

Chapter 2: Marginalised and stigmatised varieties: Kaaps and Gayle

The first part of this literature review will focus on Kaaps and the critical issues involved in understanding its development, its linguistic features, how the standardisation of Afrikaans led to the marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps and its speakers, and the significance of Kaaps as part of the schooling curriculum and in constructing coloured identity. The second part of this literature review will provide a discussion of Lavender Languages, with particular focus on Gayle, highlighting its origins, its linguistic features, its functions, and its domains of use, and showing how previous research that investigated Gayle either aligns or contradicts each other. As mentioned in the chapter outline in chapter 1, the structure and topics making up this chapter is partly because Kaaps and Gayle as ways of speaking that function alongside each other lacks attention in the available literature. Therefore, Kaaps and Gayle are discussed separately as existing literature focusses only on Kaaps or only on Gayle. The structure and topics making up this chapter is also partly due to the fact that these are both are marginalised and stigmatised ways of speaking associated with marginalised and stigmatised identities.

2.1. Kaaps in focus

The following section will begin by providing an overview of the history and spread of Kaaps as a non-standard variety of Afrikaans, with particular focus on colonisation, British imperialism, Afrikaner nationalism, and Apartheid. Secondly, it will provide an overview of the linguistic features of Kaaps, which will be limited to a focus on contemporary Kaaps[5] as this is not the focus of this thesis. Thirdly, it will provide a discussion of Kaaps as a stigmatised and marginalised linguistic variety, with particular reference to the standardisation of Afrikaans and language activism, and lastly, it will provide a discussion of Kaaps and its significance as part of the schooling curriculum, and in the construction of coloured identity. Against this background, in order to define and gain a deeper understanding of Kaaps, an understanding of the development of Afrikaans as a language at large is essential. These particular topics have been chosen for discussion as this study deals with marginalised varieties that are associated with marginalised identities. It is discussed in an attempt to show how Kaaps and its speakers are embedded within a specific socio-political backgrounded. These are topics that feature in a

[5] Like Hendricks (2016:12), the term "contemporary" will be used in this chapter to distinguish between older and more current-day variants. As such, it refers to the features of Kaaps that are predominantly in use in the current-day.

lot of the literature focusing on Kaaps and are all connected due to the stigmatisation and marginalisation aspects of Kaaps and its speakers.

2.1.1. The history and spread of Kaaps

Kaaps can be described as one of the oldest varieties of Afrikaans, spoken predominantly by coloured population of Cape Town. It is stereotypically associated with notions of the "authentic working-class coloured" (Haupt 2001:173).

As the first settlers who colonised the Cape came from different areas in the Netherlands and therefore spoke a variety of Dutch dialects, Dutch laid the foundation for Afrikaans. Dutch became familiar to the local inhabitants in the Cape who also spoke a large variety of other languages, such as the language of the native KhoeKhoe (bushmen), French, West Germanic dialects, as well as several other languages brought by slaves from East and West Africa, India and Southeast Asia including two lingua franca's: Creole Portuguese and Malay (McCormick 2006:92). A refreshment station in the Cape was created by The Vereenigde Oostindishe Compagnie (VOC) in order to supply refreshments to ships sailing between the East and Europe. Dutch was the main language spoken among the VOC officials, however, many of them, as well as the traders, seafarers and slaves were somewhat familiar with Creole Portuguese, whereas Malay functioned as a lingua franca among the political prisoners, the slaves, and Southeast Asians. As a result of the language contact in the Cape, Cape Dutch or Kaapse Hollands, which was a creole language mainly spoken between the domestic servants, the settlers and their slaves in Dutch households, slowly developed from a local Dutch-based pidgin (McCormick 2006:92). This variety expanded and flourished due to the need for the extremely diverse ethnic and linguistic groups in South Africa to communicate, and eventually became standardised as Afrikaans (Malan 1996:127) A novel, creolised language, which recently became known as Kaaps, transpired in the complex mix of communities from varied origins at the Cape (van der Waal 2012:449).

As is often the case with contact languages, speakers started using Afrikaans based on the grammar of their mother tongue and incorporated loanwords from their own languages if they did not know the Afrikaans word or if there was no equivalent in Afrikaans, and as a result, varieties of Afrikaans emerged (Schuster 2016:11). Geographically, three main varieties of Afrikaans exist, that is; Oosgrens Afrikaans which was spoken by Dutch settlers in the Eastern Cape and which was chosen for standardisation, Oranjerivier Afrikaans which was acquired by

the Khoisan language speakers due to Dutch contact in the Northwest region of South Africa, and Kaapse Afrikaans (labelled later as Kaaps) which was spoken by slave inhabitants in and nearby Cape Town (Dyers 2016:64).

According to Kotze (2016:47), research regarding the impact of Malay on Afrikaans as a whole shows that the influence of the early Cape Muslims is still largely underrated. In addition to the significant success of transcribing Cape Muslim Afrikaans and Kaaps into Arabic orthography, not only were norms of Afrikaans spelling established, but the writers of *kitaabs* (books) and the *sheikhs* (religious leaders) of *madrassahs* (Muslim schools) agreed upon a formal lexicon in order for it to be used for educational and religious practices. As such, a standard form of Afrikaans existed in the Arabic script long before it was standardised by nationalist Afrikaans movements (Kotze 2016:48). One of the first texts written in Afrikaans was the Holy Quran, and the Muslim community of the Cape launched the first Muslim school called the Dorp Street Madrasah in 1793 where Afrikaans was the medium of instruction (Davids 2011:68). The oldest translated Afrikaans text is the Bayan al-Din which was written in Arabic script (Davids 2011:89). Furthermore, as the Arabic alphabet was revised to make provision for the observed pronunciation of the language at the Cape, it also functions as a phonetic record of how Kaaps, in contrast to Dutch, was pronounced in reality, and is still pronounced today (Kotze 2016:48). The Cape Muslims also played a major role in the preservation of Dutch songs, which makes reference to the time of slavery (I.D. du Plessis 1935 cited in le Cordeur 2016:89). The Malay Choirs was established during the time when most Afrikaners were anglicising (Davids 1994:40 cited in le Cordeur 2016:89) and regardless of the lyrics of Cape Muslim music and the Dutch origin, this cultural contribution has remained under-documented and unacknowledged (le Cordeur 2016:89). In view of the role played by Cape Muslim Afrikaans, Kotze (2016:48) claim that Muslim Afrikaans could rightfully be regarded as the "nuclear dialect of Kaaps" and that Kaaps could be regarded as the matrilect (matrix dialect) of Afrikaans, before extensive relexification from Dutch was instituted.

The symbolic boundary of standard Afrikaans was created during the process of linguistic ethno-nationalism and developed in opposition to hegemonic English. It also developed as a racial and social status boundary within the larger group of Afrikaans speakers. The British took control of the Cape in 1804 and this resulted in English becoming the new lingua franca and, as such, conflict between the Dutch and British arose, which later led to a rise in Anglicisation movements (van der Waal 2012:449). According to Ponelis (1993:53 cited in van

Heerden 2016:23), throughout the 20th century, the aim of Afrikaner nationalism was to rally against British domination and hegemonic English and, therefore, language was used to establish Afrikaners as a 'volk' (a people). Afrikaans became the chief symbol of Afrikaner identity and a sense of solidarity to rise up against British domination was established. However, this movement only mobilised and catered to the interests of white Afrikaans speakers, hence the exclusion of coloured Afrikaans speakers (Ponelis, 1987:13 cited in van Heerden 2016:23).

Afrikaans became the medium of instruction in schools in 1914 and by 1925, it enjoyed equal status with that of English, and these two languages became the official languages of South Africa (McCormick 2006:99). Afrikaans became a marker for white ethnicity and encouraged white racial supremacy and promoted mainly white Afrikaans varieties (Schuster 2016:12). The view of Afrikaans as a powerful white language was reinforced by the institutionalisation of Afrikaans in many different organisations, and by the ways in which they standardised and protected the language. This protection and standardisation was associated with purism, which became one of the most important identity markers of Afrikaners (van der Waal 2012:450).

According to Dyers (2008:51), South Africa is structured in such a way where the various identities are viewed as distinctive and divided due to three hundred years of colonialism and over forty years of Apartheid. Although Afrikaans came to be known as "the language of the oppressor", it is nonetheless the mother tongue of the majority of those who classified as "Cape Coloured" during Apartheid rule. Most of these coloured people are located in the Western Cape Province of South Africa, where 55% of the population speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue (South African Population Census 2001, cited in Dyers 2008:51). Furthermore, the socio-political background of South Africa resulted in the coloured population growing as a community with a specific identity which sets them apart from the white elite Afrikaans speakers who share their language (Dyers 2008:52). The aim of creating a standard Afrikaans was to construct a racial collective identity, resulting in conscious exclusion of the working-class coloured population and the varieties they spoke. The non-standard forms of Afrikaans, spoken mainly by coloured Afrikaans people, were dismissed as substandard and seen as impure (van der Waal 2012: 449).

Furthermore, as a result of the Group Areas Act of 1950, coloured people were forcibly removed from their homes in District Six and Bo-Kaap and relocated to the Cape Flats. Because different racial groups within the Afrikaans speaking community lived separately for such a

long time as a result of this act, they grew apart linguistically, and consequently, Standard Afrikaans speakers and Kaaps speakers ultimately became entwined in an "us and them" relationship (le Cordeur 2016:88). It is therefore from areas like District Six and Bo-Kaap that Kaaps thrived and expanded to different areas on the Cape Flats. Hendricks (2016:10) claim that the labels 'Bo-Kaapse Afrikaans' and 'Cape Flats Afrikaans' provide evidence of the geographical demarcation and dissemination of Kaaps.

Afrikaans, which was originally a language used by the slaves and Khoekhoe people, became an instrument used by the oppressor and, as such, language in South Africa became the source of political ideology as the standardisation of Afrikaans operated as a symbol of Apartheid (van Heerden 2016:31). White rulers enforced Afrikaans as the language of instruction in over 50 percent of black schools with the aim of preventing the use of other languages or language varieties in the classrooms. This was a political attempt at cultural hegemony, which resulted in the Soweto Uprising of 1976 - anti-Afrikaans protests where many freedom fighters were killed and experienced trauma at the hands of the South African police, but which also later led to the liberation of black people in South Africa. In 1994, the African National Party gained power and re-examined the status of Afrikaans which led to a heightening status of English, and in 1996, eleven official languages were recognised in the constitution of South Africa (van der Waal 2012:150).

2.1.2. The linguistic features of Kaaps

This section was led by Hendricks' (2016) seminal publication on Kaaps. As such, this discussion will focus on contemporary Kaaps, which is characterised by specific grammatical, lexical and phonological features, and which reflects the foundational influence of, among others, Malay, Arabic, Indonesian, and English on the Dutch-Afrikaans origins of Kaaps, as well as the linguistic impact of Standard Afrikaans and other colloquial forms of Afrikaans (Hendricks 2016:11). Because the focus of this thesis is not centered on the linguistic features of Kaaps, only a few prominent features will be discussed.

The impact of English is one of the most notable characteristics of Kaaps. The prominence of this is evident in the insertion of direct borrowings from English, for example, "moenie iets *try* nie" (Hendricks 2016:12). Further evidence for the impact of English is seen in the morphological embedding of direct English borrowings as well as in the Afrikaansification of English words. With regards to pronunciation, Kaaps is easily noticeable. Speakers often omit

or add speech sounds, such as *ammal* instead of almal or *oepeslaan* instead of oopslaan (Hendricks 2016:13). Unrounding is also a striking feature of Kaaps which includes cases where the post-vowel /r/ is omitted resulting in words like hier (here) being pronounced as *hie* or maar (but) being pronounced as *ma*. Rhotacism is also common and results in, for example, rhotacism of the intervocalic /d/ as in *byrie* instead of by die. Another easily noticeable feature with regards to pronunciation is the diminutive marker -tjie as in bie*tjie* which is pronounced as [bitʃi] instead of [biki], as well as the /j/ affricatisation as in *djammer* instead of jammer (Hendricks 2016:14).

Kaaps is also distinguished from other varieties of Afrikaans on the lexical level. Apart from the common English lexical borrowings, a characteristic of Kaaps is the incorporation of lexical elements which are associated with Islamic expressions and practices and are etymologically of Arabic, Indonesian and Malay origins (Hendricks 2016:14). For example, lexical features like *boeja* (father) and *boeka* (breaking of fast) are linked to Islam. Other lexical features which are typical of contemporary Kaaps include: *aweh* (greeting), *bad* (be imprisoned), *berk* (boyfriend), *duidelik* (undeniably good), *entjie* (cigarette), *kwaai* (good), etc. (Hendricks 2016:16). Many Kaaps words are also linked to the 'Cape underworld'(alcohol and drugs, gang activities and prison life), and specifically to Sabela[6], for example, *boere*/ *mapoeza*/ *gattas* (police officers), *vedala* (murder), *witbene* (dead), *ganja* (marijuana), and *piemp* (betray) (Hendricks 2016:19-21). Examples of everyday phrases of Kaaps include: *gooi 'n lange* (leave), *min te wiet* (not knowing), and *maak jou laat* (misleading oneself) (Hendricks 2016:24).

From the above, it is clear that Kaaps draws lexically from many domains of usage. The lexical features related to the Cape underworld, as mentioned above, suggests that this is a fertile breeding ground particularly for novel expressions and lexical advances (Hendricks 2016:25). Usage of the lexical features and expressions of Kaaps can be compared to a sponge that sucks up influences from different speech codes including gay, street, and gang language, as well as Malay, isiXhosa and Arabic elements (Anastasia de Vries 2006 cited in Hendricks 2016:25).

Furthermore, common grammatical features of Kaaps include embedding of the past tense Afrikaans form (ge-) in the English word, for example *ge*-ignore (ignored) and *ge*-organise (organised); adding a comparative suffix as in *cheaperer* instead of cheaper, or *langerer* instead

[6] Sabela is a coded language which consists of a blend of Afrikaans and African Nguni languages. It is mainly used by South African gang members (Lewis 2006:27), and is associated with South African gang culture, however, it also spread to more wider usage outside of gang culture (Lewis 2006:65).

of langer; the use of *daai*/*dai* instead of dit (ons het *daai* gedoen), *it* instead of dit (*it* gaan bars), and *is* instead of dis (*is* seker my pen) at the beginning of a sentence; use of the preposition *vir* in front of a human object as in "toe sy *vir* Koelie sien…". Moreover, repetition of prepositions and the inclusion of the definite article *die* before the names of places are also typical, for example, '*in'* can function as a preposition and postposition as in "*ek bly in die Bellville in"*, as well as the use of the prenominal construction *'n nog 'n* as in "*'n nog 'n* rand" (Hendricks 2016:26-29).

The usage of Kaaps demonstrates idiolectic diversities. Phonological features are dominant with certain speakers while for others, grammatical or lexical features are more dominant. Anastasia de Vries (2006 in Hendricks 2016:31) claim that the spoken diversity of Kaaps is "a roadmap of the cultures and subcultures you are exposed to", indicating that these idiolectic diversities are culturally regulated. There are also social group differences (Kaaps spoken by Muslims and Kaaps spoken by Christians), register differences (register of the Cape underworld), regional differences (Kaaps in Bo-Kaap and Kaaps in Mitchell's Plain), economic differences (working-class and middle-class), etc. (Hendricks 2016:31). Furthermore, for some, Kaaps functions as a primary language in almost all situations whereas for others, it is a secondary or occasional language used mainly for informal interaction. Hendricks (2016:31) therefore claims that Kaaps can be understood as a linguistic resource that can either be stored or used when required.

2.1.3. Marginalisation, stigmatisation and language activism

As discussed above, the standardisation of Afrikaans was a tactical procedure which was closely related to Afrikaner nationalism and Apartheid dogma, and the consequences of South Africa's history still lingers many years after democracy. Kaaps was deliberately sidestepped in the standardisation of Afrikaans and avoided in the linguistic narrative and teaching of Afrikaans from the start of the 20th century until the height of Apartheid. These methods of marginalisation, as manifestation of Afrikaner nationalism, encouraged the stigmatisation of Kaaps and promoted the image of Kaaps as "inferior Afrikaans" (Hendricks 2016:33). The appropriation of Afrikaans as a white language was notably facilitated by linguists as white Afrikaans linguists disregarded the non-white origins of Afrikaans (Webb and Kriel 2002:22 cited in van Heerden 2016:33). Van Heerden (2016:33) refers to several scholars who cite the trend that only European and Dutch influence during Afrikaner nationalism was stressed. As a

result of this, the role of other population groups was stigmatised and excluded (van Heerden 2016:33).

The stigmatisation of Kaaps can also be described in relation to '*suiwer*' (pure) Afrikaans. The kind of Afrikaans spoken in the coloured community is viewed as an informal variety of 'pure' Afrikaans that is not taken seriously and is mostly characterised as comical (Valley and Valley 2009 cited in van Heerden 2016:44). It was stigmatised as 'Kleurlingafrikaans' (coloured Afrikaans) and was deemed as socially inferior. Furthermore, Kaaps is often belittled as a "Gammat language riddled with Gatiepie jokes" (le Cordeur 2016:92). According to le Cordeur (2016:92), "Gammat" refers to a male proper noun derived from Mohammad, which is pronounced as 'Moegammad' in Arabic and "thus by implication constitutes a negative reference to the influence of Muslim Afrikaans". Willemse (2016:75) compares "Gatiepie" to the Blackface figure of American pop culture as they are often portrayed as the socially inferior Other. The stigma that Kaaps is a joke is not a new phenomenon as coloured academics themselves criticised Adam Small's first literary work stating that his use of Kaaps represented the coloured community in derogatory ways and contained many stereotypes. However, according to Gerwel (1985:16 cited in le Cordeur 2016:92), this criticism was unfounded because in Small's 1965 drama, Kanna Hy Kô Hystoe, Kaaps was an effective tool of protest challenging political injustice. Moreover, speakers of Kaaps are often viewed as half-skilled, naïve, and unable to comprehend or appreciate complexity (Willemse 2016:75). This is why le Cordeur (2016:93) believes that the media should enlighten the public about this stigmatisation and also why the stereotyping of Kaaps and its speakers in the media should be stopped, but instead, the media represents coloured people in a comical light where the stereotypical Cape coloured accent is used and indefinitely over-exaggerated (Petersen 2015).

Willemse (2012:80) claims that the source of the stigmatisation of Kaaps is standardisation and states that speakers are hesitant to communicate publicly in the non-standard variety and, as such, they express themselves inadequately using a second language and become "outsiders in their own language" (Willemse 2012:81). van Heerden (2016:44-43) refers to Ponelis (1994:107) and van Rensburg (1999:81) who cite the labels of extreme stigmatisation and belittlement: Kaaps is often labelled as "*plat taal*" (flat language), "*kombuistaal*" (kitchen language), "*straattaal*" (street language), and/or *onbeskaafde taal* (uncivilised language). Other labels include "*gam taal*" (language of the Ham), "*verbasterdetaal"* (bastardised or hybridised language), and the "language of the low social classes" (Schuster 2016:16). These labels points

to the stigma and inferiority attached to Kaaps, as a non-standard form of the '*suiwer*' (pure) Afrikaans. Standardisation of Afrikaans was thus politically driven and according to le Cordeur (2016:91), "standardisation continued to deny the creole nature of Afrikaans", even though it was purified of slave, Khoi, and Malay influences.

As mentioned before, there is a high percentage of coloured people in the Western Cape who have Afrikaans as a mother tongue, and while this statistic refers to Afrikaans in its standard form, Hamman (nd:np) states that in reality, it is Kaaps which is widely spoken in these communities. Regardless of its pervasiveness, the view of and attitudes towards Kaaps in modern society remains negative as it is perceived as "an uncouth and vulgar version of Afrikaans", and its speakers are frequently unfairly discriminated against(Hamman nd:np). Further evidence for the marginalisation of Kaaps and its speakers is the absence of Afrikaans varieties in the so-called standard language. There have been urgent calls for this since the 1980s (Odendaal 2013:184). Odendaal (2013:197) argues that Afrikaans as a standard language is not able to serve its speakers effectively as it does not reflect the democratic principles which are increasingly being embraced and which are driven by several global changes that took place in the past few decades. Odendaal (2013:183) further examines existing literature on re-standardisation, standardisation, de-standardisation, and other aspects of language planning to provide a clear definition for re-standardisation in this context. As such, she explains how re-standardisation can be viewed as language planning aimed at developing a democratic linguistic dispensation by defining it as:

> deliberate language planning… aimed at revising the form and function of a standard language and influencing the linguistic behaviour of a speech community in order to create a democratic standard. Furthermore, re-standardisation comprises the correction of some or other social injustice… by standardising the language from a broader varietal base, thereby making [it] more inclusive in order to empower all speakers (Odendaal 2013:197).

Furthermore, protest poetry by coloured poets and writers' rebellion against their exclusion from hegemonic Afrikaans is also evidence of the stigmatisation and marginalisation of Kaaps. Van Rensburg (2012:130 cited in le Cordeur 2016:91) claims that writers including Adam Small used Kaaps as protest action against Standard Afrikaans and argues that it is difficult to understand why it is so important to preserve the standard while "Kaaps is the mother-tongue of more than two million people in the Western Cape". Additionally, Peter Snyders sarcastically

wrote about the lack of self-confidence, language pride and the cultural inferiority of speakers of Kaaps and spoke out against the stereotyping of Kaaps and its speakers:

Moetie rai gammttaal gebruikie;

dit issie mooi nie:

dit diegreid die coloured mense –

of hoe?

wat traai djy

om 'n coloured culture te create?

of dink djy is snaaks

om soe te skryf?

of hoe?

Traai om ôs lieweste op te lig;

ôs praat mossie soe nie…?

of hoe? (Versagtende omstandighede 1995:6)

Don't use that "Gammat" language, it isn't nice; it degrades the coloured people-not so? Why do you try to create a coloured culture? Or do you think it is comical to write like that? Rather try to uplift us; we don't talk like that…? Do we? (translation of the above poem cited in le Cordeur 2016:93).

Apart from the perception of Kaaps having no social value locally and globally, Kaaps is also perceived as having no economic value. AfriKaaps, a relatively new musical and documentary theatre production and language movement, which aims to reclaim the Afrikaans language for all who speak it, and which talks back to the system of oppression and marginalisation. According to Schuster (2016:21), AfriKaaps did not only consist of the verbal production[7] of the actors, but also of movement, skits, audience participation, music, and a documentary of the performers and the formation of the show. As such, the nature of the AfriKaaps production is transmodal. It challenges the "ideological hold of Gamtaal of coloured speakers of Kaaps"

[7] Here, verbal production refers to language in the form of verbal communication as a mode of expression to make meaning and thereby create identity (Schuster 2016:21).

(Williams 2016). Speakers of Kaaps are often judged based on how mixed or how pure the fluency and proficiency of their language is, rather than on the linguistic resources that construct their language biography, and this is one of the many post-Apartheid burdens for coloured speakers of Kaaps (Williams 2016). Today, the AfriKaaps crew members are focusing their efforts on making a more forceful and needed intervention into the de-colonial debate on language empowerment. AfriKaaps stresses the importance of multilingual diversity, encourages us to re-examine the history and origins of Afrikaans, and uncover ways to "promote the respect and dignity of marginalised speakers who wish to enjoy their citizenship fully in the public sphere". It also encourages the politics of linguistic rectification by reclaiming linguistic power (Williams 2016).

During the 1980s and 1990s, the historically coloured youth music groups such as Brasse vannie Kaap, Black Noise and Prophets of da City promoted the use of non-standard varieties of Afrikaans through hip-hop language activism. Through the use of Kaaps, these hip-hop groups spoke up against the "monolithic way in which coloureds are represented in the mainstream media" (Haupt 2001:177 cited in Williams and Stroud 2015:280) while resisting essentialist and traditional perceptions of colouredness (Haupt 2001:179 cited in Williams and Stroud 2015:280). More recently, popular music artists such as Emo Adams, Jack Parrow, and Youngsta CPT also perform on stage and on set using their own variety and thereby promotes the use of non-standard varieties of Afrikaans. All of Youngsta CPT's songs promotes the use of Kaaps while telling the story about coloured people in Cape Town and the complexities behind their suffering as he raps about the economic inequality, crime, gangsterism, trafficking, growing up poor, drug addiction, and the slow response from the police on the Cape Flats (Mkhabela 2019). His music paints a picture of what it means to be a Cape coloured person in present-day South Africa and has broken many barriers for coloured people and Cape Town hip-hop as his lyrics are "honest, visceral and disruptive" (Mkhabela 2019). However, in 2015, Youngsta CPT made his fans aware that his single "Salutas" was rejected by MTV Base because it was "too Cape Town". According to Mkhabela (2019), YoungstaCPT is a significant figure and voice for the coloured community of Cape Town, a community that has not been afforded the luxury of controlling their own narrative. In mainstream media, coloured people are stereotypically portrayed as gangsters, criminals, and caricatures with missing front teeth, and this is something YoungstaCPT is aware of and has been purposely refuting this image and narrative through the use of Kaaps in his all of his music (Mkhabela 2019). Examples of the lyrics from one of his songs follows:

A lot of mense hating that's not stopping me
This was the same thing they did in the cape colony
Making us think we living free in a broken democracy
But the truth will set us free, you'll read it in my biography
When they brought us on the slave ships
And they took away our education
Looking for an oasis
'Cause they turn our people into vagrants
You can't win with the racists cause they still think with that hatred
But victory is my fragrance so I'm emphasising my statements
We was locked up in the ghetto, far away from the meadows
No Shakespeare no Othello, what you hearing here is a demo
Had to scream until it echo, from Khayelitsha to Soweto
Call me Stefano Dimera
You was shocked I turned into a pharaoh
But they got us in a system
Our history was rewritten

by the Europeans and Britain
We all share the same symptoms
But you can never ever hide the scars
Take a look at how far behind we are

Now come meet the man behind the bars, his initials are YVR (Song titled "Young Van Riebeek" by Youngsta CPT)

Additionally, performances by comedians such as Mark Lottering and the stars of Joe Barber, as well as other theatre productions such as District Six, where Kaaps is used in a positive light and as the main driver for commercial and artistic purposes, brings the idea of Kaaps as a language of economic empowerment to life and thus changes the perception of Kaaps as an inferior language with no economic value (van der Rheede 2016:117).

The increasing public performances and output of literature in Kaaps shows that its users are finding their voice and practising what Stroud (2001:346) refers to as linguistic citizenship. The word citizenship here pertains particularly to the role of language and multilingualism as a

political source, which indicates a growing self-confidence among a previously marginalised linguistic community in South Africa (Dyers 2016:62). As such, linguistic citizenship acknowledges that speakers express participation, agency, and voice through a range of semiotic means, resist control, and state claims for the (re)construction of new forms of inclusion by utilising their language over many modalities (Stroud 2015:25). Though its speakers are aware of the low status of Kaaps in comparison to standard Afrikaans used by the more economically powerful white Afrikaners, Kaaps is very much in use and enjoys a strong vitality in the working-class townships of the Cape Flats (Dyers 2007:86).

2.1.4. Kaaps and coloured identity

It is obvious, yet important to remember that not only was the language of coloured people marginalised, so were they. According to Woolard and Schieffelin (1994 cited in Cooper 2018:32), language ideology that is linked to a standard language is the belief that respectable languages of good quality should remain "pure" from contamination by other languages, particularly those languages which are spoken by people of colour and who are from the lower-class population. As such, "colouredness", which is regarded as being of mixed race, has led to the marginalisation of the coloured population and the stigmatisation of their language (Cooper 2018:32).

Furthermore, the meaning that is created in all identities relies on its spatial, historical and socio-political situations and therefore subjectivity is required in constructing identity (Amima Mama 1995:2 cited in Erasmus and Pieterse 1999:180). Understanding constructions of identities as a process which includes active subject involvement allows one to attend to the idea that coloured identities are not only white-imposed by slave owners and/ or Apartheid representatives, and inertly accepted by coloured individuals. It expedites a conceptualisation that explains the fact that coloured individuals played and still play a vital role in providing meaning for their identities (Erasmus and Pieterse 1999:181). Erasmus and Pieterse (1999:181) further argue that all South Africans have multiple and sometimes contradictory identities which are grounded in among others, sexuality, class, ethnicity, gender, race, and pressure to be firstly South African may cause one to deny changing identities and variation among South Africans. With that said, processes of identity construction are rooted in particular historical backgrounds and therefore, an approach focusing on coloured identities as historically (re)constructed in specific social situations enables one to recognise that processes of coloured identity construction can be described as what they 'are', that is, suitable processes of identity

construction which change according to various places, spaces, and times (Erasmus and Pieterse 1999: 181).

In light of the above, coloured identity is a highly complex and sensitive topic as many coloured individuals often feel that South Africa is viewed mainly from only two perspectives: that of the overprivileged white and that of the underprivileged black. Coloured people and black people often share the same or similar levels of poverty, unemployment and other social struggles, yet coloured voices often go unnoticed (Petersen 2015:np). However, efforts to re-conceptualise coloured identity have been prominent in post-apartheid South Africa.

Throughout the time of Apartheid, coloured identity was a "fraught identity category", and continues to be one, even more so in the present day as some coloured elites and intellectuals choose not to be associated with the label 'coloured', but rather with the label 'black'. At the same time, others are discovering a new value for the label as a rallying appeal to a new sense of indigeneity- "a coloured nation". (Williams and Stroud 2015:278). According to Adhikari (2009:xvii), the transition to democracy paved way for the coloured community to re-position an overwhelmingly racialised identity in an environment where racial ideology remained completely disgraced. This pursuit has been complicated by a widely held belief of coloured complicity in the face of white rule. Nonetheless, democracy also initiated new and creative ways of understanding and speaking about colouredness (Adhikari 2009:xvii). Adhikari (2009:xvii) claims that there has been extraordinary modifications in how coloured identity has acquired representation and expression, and after almost a century of maintaining an unwavering existence during white rule, this identity has been in flux ever since the early 1990s. This flexibility of identity brought about a sense of uncertainty and confusion about the nature of colouredness and the suitability of adopting or summoning it. The coloured community in South Africa exhibit tentativeness about whether community members should represent themselves as South African, as African, as black, as coloured, as slave descendants, as Khoisan, or if they should "make a stand on the principle of non-racism – or what combination of these forms of self-understanding are pertinent in what contexts" (Adhikari 2009:xix). Various efforts by community activists and small groups of scholars to reconstruct coloured identity have been made, yet none has obtained general agreement within the wider coloured community (Adhikari 2009:xix).

According to le Cordeur (2016:96), Kaaps is part of coloured identity; it is a vital indicator of both individual and group identity. Today, coloured identity is frequently reclaimed and

linguistically performed through the use of Kaaps to bring to life a new perspective of Kaaps and its speakers. Small makes use of Kaaps in his dramas and it effectively functions as an identity marker. In the drama titled Kanna Hy Kô Hystoe, Kanna, the main character uses Kaaps when he wants to identify with the people from the community in which he grew up, while he makes use of Standard Afrikaans to signify his social distance and indicate a heightened social status (van Wyk 2006). Further evidence of Kaaps and its relevance to identity is illustrated by Small (1973:9) in his preface of Kitaar My Kruis, which states that:

> *Kaaps is 'n taal, 'n taal in die sin dat dit die volle lot en noodlot van die mense wat dit praat, dra: die volle lot, hulle volle lewe, met alles wat daarin is"; 'n taal in die sin dat die mense wat dit praat, hul eerste skreeu in die lewe skreeu in hierdie taal, al die transaksies van hul lewens beklink in hierdie taal, en hul doodsroggel roggel in hierdie taal. Kaaps is nie 'n grappigheid of snaaksigheid nie, maar 'n taal*
>
> *Kaaps is a language in the sense that it carries the whole fate and destiny of the people who speak it: the whole fate, their whole life 'with everything therein'; a language in the sense that the people who speak it, give their first cry in this life in this language, all the transactions of their lives are concluded in this language, their death rattle is in this language. Kaaps is not a joke or a comedy, but a language* (translation cited in Willemse 2016:75).

In line with this, one of the aims of the AfriKaaps production was to re-establish more positive facets of identity in relation to the speakers of Kaaps (Schuster 2016:35). The reconstruction of identities whilst viewing and performing AfriKaaps leads to the re-appropriation of previous coloured identities therefore validating their agency in overcoming colonial constructs of identity (Schuster 2016:61). To generate new discussions and create a new environment for new identity construction, the AfriKaaps production brought the earlier stereotypes of Kaaps and the old uniformities of identity and forced them over the present-day identities (Schuster 2016:62). The intention was to reveal elements of history that speakers of Kaaps are unaware of and encourage them to self-create their identity and be able to fuse several identities into the final notion of "colouredness". (Schuster 2016:35). According to Schuster (2016:61), identity and language are indivisible notions, thus accepting and embracing Kaaps and its history, coloured speakers of Kaaps can embrace their true South African identities and consequently perform the African facets of their identity (Schuster 2016:61).

Kaaps functions as a means for its speakers to gain ownership of the history of the variety and the many transformations it underwent as a result of their actions. Schuster (2016:67) therefore argues that Kaaps should be appreciated and embraced every day in every possible context, and should be used to provide a sense of solidarity and to revolutionise the identity of its people. According to Williams and Stroud (2017:177), this is what the AfriKaaps production achieved as excluded voices were recaptured and a movement that generates a representation of language linked to confidence and pride was commercialised. Consciousness is inspired through a "critical reconstruction of the history of the language, the weaving of a very different idea of language as such, and the development of an alternative understanding of multilingualism" (William and Stroud 2017:177). The purity of Afrikaans lineage from Dutch is replaced with a hybrid language and the inscription of several voices is depicted in the multivocality of the AfriKaaps production. Furthermore, the bodies of the speakers in the AfriKaaps production are layered with ownership and knowledge of the language and, as such, language is recognised as "affect-laden and embodied in corporeal relationships among speakers" (Williams and Stroud 2017:178). Relationships between speakers and speech practices are structured in non-hierarchical terms and linguistic encounters are recognised as sites of vulnerability and struggle. Williams and Stroud (2017:186) claim that "utopic moments"[8] come to life in the AfriKaaps production as there are reconsiderations about the relationships of power underlying specific practices and understandings of language, for example, rethinking who may decide what a language is, or which speakers count as legitimate, and as a result, a "utopian sense of language" that is very closely associated with a "euphoric, embodied and new sense of self" is created (Williams and Stroud 2017:178).

The importance of Kaaps as a means of expression lies in the fact that it is a marker of identity and a cultural driver in its community as it is the "umbilical cord that binds them" (van der Rheede 2016:121). It plays a pivotal role in interaction, association, mobilisation, and identification on the Cape Flats (van der Rheede 2016:121).

2.1.5. Kaaps in the classroom

During Apartheid, coloured, black, and white students attended different schools as another system of racial segregation. Even though the separation of schools started to disappear with

[8] Williams and Stroud (2017:185) makes use of Bloch's (1985) conceptualisation of "utopia" to demonstrate an ideal and imagined notion of language that is momentarily emerging and taking form, and the concept with which to fully understand this is the "not-yet"-a better way of living that is foreshadowed in the present.

the abolishment of Apartheid, and presently, integrated schools are not an unusual phenomenon, the effects of Apartheid education still linger in the current day and will do so for many years to come (le Cordeur 2016:97). By the end of the twentieth century, speakers of Kaaps began to object to the fact that students who grew up using Kaaps, was forced to do their schoolwork in Standard Afrikaans, and one of the objections was that the prescribed books that was part of the school curriculum depicted a world that was different from that in which the students had grown up (Esterhuyse 1986 cited in le Cordeur 2016:97).

According to Willemse (2016:76), education is the most significant domain for the operation of a more broadly represented Afrikaans because often, the first instances of language disempowerment occur in the classroom. Sonn (2014 cited in le Cordeur 2016:97) further emphasises that in order to develop a sense of self-esteem, unity and pride, it is important for the history that is taught to these students to be amended and corrected. Teachers are aware of the fact that their students' use of Kaaps is culturally, economically, and politically stigmatised and therefore feel obligated to promote and teach the standard in order to prevent mockery and low performance expectations. It is often the small, accumulative actions that disempower students, for example, telling students to "speak correctly", which causes them to lose their confidence and refrain from using their mother tongue. This is evident as more often than not, Kaaps speakers prefer to speak English in formal situations as they do not feel competent enough to use Standard Afrikaans (Willemse 2016:76) and still have too many negative attitudes towards Afrikaner nationalism (Du Preez 2011 cited in le Cordeur 2016:98). According to le Cordeur (2016:98), if schools continue to disregard language varieties, the institutional environment, such as the language of instruction, is not promoting curriculum development or success, as there is an extremely high failure rate on the Cape Flats. Willemse (2016:77) further stresses that the curricula and teaching practices must accept and legitimise students' language identity.

Furthermore, Willemse (2016:77) states that the teaching of a comprehensive history of Afrikaans and all of its speakers is crucial. Moreover, the role of Kaaps is of utmost importance for the successful operation of the academic curriculum as it impacts the academic success of over two and a half million students. It is based on this backdrop that le Cordeur (2016:98) asserts that provision should be made for Kaaps in the school curriculum, and points to a study that was conducted at Stellenbosch University by Odendaal (2012) which found that the results of students with Kaaps as a home language were below average when the literacy tests were

completed in Standard Afrikaans, and on the contrary, these students performed significantly better when the tests were completed in Kaaps. Moreover, Basson (2018:8) argues that the exclusion of Kaaps in the classroom isolates coloured students from the teaching and learning processes, which cause them to view their language as "wrong, ugly and uncivilized". Basson (2018:9) found that idiomatic expressions in Kaaps are embedded in the cultural heritage and lived knowledge of coloured individuals and that this should therefore function as a means towards accommodating Kaaps and coloured identity in the classroom. Basson (2018:9) further found that after exposing students to a positive view of Kaaps, the language was regarded as an essential part of their identity and a sense of language pride was developed.

The appeals for the inclusion of Kaaps have indeed been listened to, to some extent, as significant coloured poets' poems and authors' novels are taught and being used as teaching material in the classroom. The inclusion of Kaaps idioms and expressions introduces students to cultural knowledge of which they previously did not have exposure to, and dramas such as those by Adam Small, enlighten students about an indigenous value system of which they had very little to no knowledge of (le Cordeur 2016:99).

Now that an understanding of Kaaps and the critical issues involved in understanding its formation and development, its linguistic features, its stigmatisation, and its relevance in constructing a coloured identity, and in being part of the school curriculum has been provided, this chapter will turn its focus to providing an in-depth understanding of the literature that exists on the topic of Gayle.

2.2. Gayle in focus

The following section will focus its attention on research that explored the use of Gayle and how the different research perspectives and findings either align with or contradict one another. This section will firstly discuss Cage's (2003) overview of the origins, functions and features of Gayle which is based on his 1999 MA dissertation on the same topic. This will be followed by an overview of McCormick's (2003) queer analysis of the discursive construction of gay identity in Cage's (2003) book. Thirdly, Luyt's (2014) exploration of the attitudes, history, and usage of Gayle will be discussed. Fourthly, a discussion of Hendricks's (2014) investigation of the ways in which speakers use Gayle as an anti-language and as a form of carnival will be provided. Fifthly, an overview of Plato's (2017) unpublished Honours project, which this study is an extension of, will be provided, and finally, an overview of Mulligan's (2018) research,

which takes the form of a sixteen-minute film that tackles the complexity of Gayle in its dissemination and the role it plays in the performance and maintenance of identity among coloured LGBTI+ members in Cape Town will be examined.

However, prior to the above discussions, it is necessary to provide an overview of research of international and local Lavender Languages as it will assist in locating and understanding Gayle from within this broader phenomenon.

2.2.1. Lavender Languages

There are many documented cases of languages used by the LGBTI+ community which can be found globally, and together, these languages are referred to as Lavender Languages. This phenomenon is not limited to English and appears to thrive in societies where oppressed gay communities are situated (Cage 2003:18).

Lavender Languages have a unique lexicon which is generally associated with topics such as physical appearance, sexual behaviour and relationships. This lexicon contains a "gendered dimension of speech" which is highly common in the speech of gay men, and a very noteworthy marker is how gendered pronouns are used in novel ways (Cameron and Kulick 2003:81). Examples of this include the use of "her", "she", "girl", and "Miss", instead of "him", "he," "boy", and "Mr", in reference to themselves and other men (Cameron and Kulick 2003:82). Another example includes converting male names to female names as in "Roberta" instead of "Robert" (Barret 1997:194). The use of female names for various objects, activities, or personal characteristics such as "Wendy" for "white" (Gevisser and Cameron 1994:222) gives Lavender Languages a playful element and functions as a form of affirmation of femininity by gay men (Gevisser and Cameron 1994:224). Lavender Languages also include the re-appropriation and reclamation of previously derogatory labels which may relieve negativity and increase positivity. However, it may also maintain the stereotypical perceptions of society towards gay people, and this may be the reason for the gay community's mixed perceptions and opinions towards Lavender Languages (Gevisser and Cameron 1994:223). Other linguistic features include speaking with a lisp, speaking about topics such as "hair or flowers or poodles", using qualifiers such as "lovely" and "fabulous", frequent use of diminutives, and the use of the "x + queen construction" as in "gym queen" (Cameron and Kulick 2003:76; 89). Furthermore, exaggeration, using hypercorrect pronunciation, and using hedges and boosters such as "like" (Barret 1997:192) have also been identified as common linguistic markers of Lavender

Languages. A range of phonetic features, known as "the voice", which include breathiness, lengthening of fricative sounds like /z/ and /s/, affrication of plosives /d/ and /t/ to sound like [dz] and [ts], and wide pitch range are also reported features of Lavender Languages (Cameron and Kulick 2003:90).

According to Gevisser and Cameron (1994:224), Lavender Languages "embodies a constant reaction to the dominant heterosexual culture while emulating that same culture". The functions of Lavender Languages include, among others, unity and solidarity, identification, secrecy, and exposure (Gevisser and Cameron 1994:223).

2.2.2. International Lavender Languages

Lavender Languages have been in existence for quite some time. Polari, the United Kingdom's Lavender Language, was created during the Industrial Revolution when gay culture started to emerge as people located to the cities and is one of the oldest gay varieties (Cage 2003:17). According to Baker (2002:1), Polari can be defined as a secret language spoken by gay men and women in London and other cities in the U.K with an established gay subculture, in approximately the first seven decades of the twentieth century. It originated partly from "slang lexicons of numerous stigmatized and itinerant groups" and was especially popular among actors and gay men who were in the Merchant Navy (Baker 2002:1). Apart from being used mainly to maintain secrecy, Polari also functioned as a way of acting out "camp" performances, socialising, and reconstructing a shared gay identity and mutual perspective among its speakers. Baker (2002:2) claims that Polari can be a way of expressing humour in the face of adversity. It is a witty language that is constantly evolving and filled with "fast put-downs, ironic self-parody and theatrical exaggeration" (Baker 2002:2). Due to Britain's unwavering conservative attitudes to homosexuality, the gay community organised Polari into a sophisticated code by the 1950s. It was used to hide their sexual identity from heterosexual society while at the same time, making it known to other gay men (Cage 2003:18). Interestingly, the exposure of the lexicon of Polari on a popular 1960s radio programme "Round The Horne" seems to have contributed to its demise as it became widely known, which stripped its resonance as a gay code and limited its usefulness as a secret form of communication (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 91).

Around the same time, gay people in the United States started creating their own exclusive kind of communication, and a Lavender Language known as Gayspeak emerged (Cage 2003:18) It

developed in the 1950s in New York and San Francisco's gay ghettos. Rogers (1972 cited in Cox and Fay 1994: 1) describes Gayspeak as a kind of protest that is "used to deflate the hypocrisy of nice-sounding labels that mean nothing to the people that use them", and as a means of expressing social identity and group belonging. The introduction of the first scholarly volume dedicated entirely to Gayspeak observes that "homosexuals permeate all dimensions of society as males and females, blacks and whites, rich and poor, rural and urban" (Chesebro 1981:xi cited in Cameron and Kulick 2003:87). However, not one contribution in this book truly investigates geographical, class, or racial difference (Cameron and Kulick 2003:87). Nonetheless, Hayes (1976 cited in Cox and Fay 1994:12) analyses the sociolinguistic nature of Gayspeak by classifying three distinct 'settings': the secret setting, where sexual preference is hidden from outsiders (Cox and Fay 1994:12), and which is "characterized linguistically by use of innuendo and by the avoidance or switching of specific gender reference when discussing one's partner or friends" (Kulick 2000:259); the social setting, where gay men have traditionally been public (Cox and Fay 1994:12), and which is "characterized by camp and an extensive vocabulary defining sexual roles and behaviours" (Kulick 2000: 259); and the radical-activist setting, where the socio-political makeup of all behaviour is recognised (Cox and Fay 1994:12) and which is used as a means of politicising social life through the reclamation of derogatory terms (Kulick 2000: 259). These 'settings' are not essentially person-specific as people function in changing situations with settings that often overlap and as such, gay men often shift from a register comprising Gayspeak to one which is more circumspect.

In addition, the gay community in the Philippines have their own dynamic and secretive Lavender Language known as Swardspeak (Catacutan 2015:np). The term Swardspeak was coined in the 1970s, during the Martial law period, a time when those in support of the right to expression were oppressed and as such, the origin of Swardspeak could be attributed to the government's suppression of free speech. Swardspeak enables speakers to freely express themselves through codifying the content of their interaction and hiding it from outsiders (Catacutan 2015:np). The Filipino gay community witnessed two mechanisms of oppressions; "as a Filipino citizen being subject to a fascist regime, and as a gay man experiencing discrimination because of sexual orientation" (Catacutan 2015:np). Swardspeak functioned both as a way of not being discriminated against and as a way of escaping imprisonment (Catacutan 2015:np). Even though many words come directly from Cebuano, Spanish, English, or Tagalog, different meanings are given to these words (Hart and Hart 1990:29). Swardspeak greatly depends on phonetics or sounds that are formed to generate another word with the same

meaning as the intended one, and the nature of the language can be described as sexual as most words and phrases have to do with the act of sex. Examples of this include uring (sodomy), fellatio (sixty-nine), flower (genitalia), grande (large penis), bio (blow/blow job), and seventh-heaven (to have an orgasm) (Hart and Hart 1990: 30).

Another Lavender Language spoken by gay and the male-to-female transgenders in Indonesia is known as Bahasa gay (Boellstorff 2004a:182). Bahasa gay uses derivational processes which include word substitutions, rare suffixes, and a pragmatics emphasising unity. Even though mainstream knowledge of gay men's existence is limited, Bahasa gay is increasingly being appropriated by Indonesian popular culture (Boellstorf 2004b:248). The purpose of Bahasa gay is very rarely to hide the content of gay conversations from outsiders, but rather to mark a conversation as gay to begin with. As such, Bahasa gay represents a sense of belonging to a gay community that is separated from the larger national society (Boellstorff 2004a:183). According to Boellstorff (2004b:264), "what leaks from bahasa gay as it is appropriated into the national vernacular is a sense of sameness, of shared identity across islands of difference". It is important to note that while some terms transform words from native languages such as Balinese or Javanese, at the overall grammatical level, Bahasa gay is always based on the national language which is Indonesian (Boellstorff 2004b:252). Even though Indonesia has significant linguistic diversity, Bahasa gay can be described as a self-consciously nation-wide way of speaking. The derivational patterns used to create Bahasa gay lexemes have its roots in one region of Indonesia but spread nationally through gay social networks (Boellstorff 2004b:253).

2.2.3. South African Lavender Languages

The existing literature indicates that there are currently two Lavender Languages that exist in South Africa. As the 1950s saw Gayspeak expanding in the USA and Polari at its peak in the U.K, black South African gay men were developing their own form of communication- a Nguni-based Lavender Language called isiNgqumo, and white and coloured gay South African men were developing their own English-based Lavender Language called Gayle (Luyt 2014:7). These two languages developed almost simultaneously because of the linguistic division created by the Apartheid government's laws pertaining to race, with white and coloured English and Afrikaans speakers socially interacting with one another and Bantu language speakers being separated from them (Cage 2003:3). Although the present study does not investigate

isiNgqumo, I will provide a brief overview of research which has focused its attention on this topic, before turning the focus of this literature review to the topic of Gayle.

2.2.3.1. IsiNgqumo

IsiNgqumo, the Zulu-based Lavender Language in South Africa, developed as the Apartheid migrant labour policy prohibited men from bringing their wives to their place of work, and as such, same-sex relationships frequently developed in the mines. Thus, to a large extent, isiNgqumo has its origins in the mines (Cage 2003:23). Like Gayle, isiNgqumo is significantly under-researched, with only a few academic studies published on the topic. The first study was Rudwick and Ntuli's (2008) overview of the origins, functions, and features of isiNgqumo, which drew on qualitative semi-structured interviews with 28 black gay men in Kwazulu-Natal who speak isiNgqumo. These interviews yielded information on various themes, with a focus on gay speech variety. Two main research questions formed the basis of this study; the first concerned which linguistic term best identifies isiNgqumo and the second dealt with describing it (Rudwick and Ntuli 2008:446). The second study was Msibi's (2013) exploration of the ways in which language can be used to objectify gay men as well as to subvert homophobia and heterosexism, by focusing on "resist-stance"[9] which is employed through the use of IsiNgqumo. This study made use of personal, detailed life histories of 8 black male school teachers who engage in same-sex relationships and who are from rural and township contexts of South Africa. This was done through in-depth semi-structured interviews, and Ritchie and Lewis's (2003) analytical hierarchy[10] was used to analyse the data (Msibi 2013:260).

Rudwick and Ntuli's (2008) study's findings indicate that isiNgqumo serves as a secretive language that has sexual, political, and social value (Rudwick and Ntuli 2008:446). Patriarchy and homophobia still exist in Kwazulu-Natal and in other regions of South Africa, and Rudwick and Ntuli (2008:447) claim that this explains why concealment is still of interest to some black gay people in certain situations and contexts, and why a demise of isiNgqumo is not likely. In line with this, many participants in Msibi's study indicated that isiNgqumo is often used when communicating in public about their sexual practices and when speaking about "straight people" (Msibi 2013:264). As such, it functions as a tool of protection against homophobia

[9] Msibi (2013:259) adopts Grace and Benson's (2000) notion of "resist-stancing" to examine various ways in which some of the participants challenge and resist heteronormativity.
[10] This method of analysis involves (i) managing the data, (ii) providing descriptive accounts of the data, and (iii) drawing explanations by highlighting particular themes (Msibi 2013:260).

which may result from public communication about specific topics as very few people understand isiNgqumo or have an idea about the sexuality of these speakers.

According to Rudwick and Ntuli, (2008:453) many speakers view isiNgqumo as 'their language' that allows them to perform their sexual identity. Rudwick and Ntuli (2008:453) further claim that some isiNgqumo users may be able to identify and relate with another gay person who uses the language on a much deeper level than with someone who only uses the same mother-tongue. For this reason, Rudwick and Ntuli (2008:450) argue that the socio-political and ethnic aspects of isiNgqumo and its fundamental role in identification processes are even more fascinating than its linguistic properties. This is in line with Msibi's (2013:264) claim that isiNgqumo provides a sense of belonging and group identity as speakers interact publicly in a language that is not widely understood. It therefore also functions as a tool of resistance against heteronormativity and homophobia and adequately illustrates Butler's (1993 cited in Msibi 2013:264) argument that "possibilities for resistance always exist in the performance of gender-and accordingly, sexuality".

Furthermore, isiNgqumo is "firstly a linguistic variety and secondly a sociolect" (Rudwick and Ntuli 2008:451). The former may be used as a neutral concept devoid of inherent distinction of being a dialect or a full language, and the latter merely depicts the speech characteristic for a specific social group. However, for isiNgqumo, the word sociolect is not specific enough because while being a sociolect, it is also an ethnolect as seemingly only black and primarily isiZulu mother tongue-speaking gay people in South Africa make use of it. Moreover, while being a sociolect, it is also a genderlect because its usage seems to be common only among gay males (Rudwick and Ntuli 2008:451). Importantly, Msibi's study's findings indicate that IsiNgqumo is not known or shared to the same degree by all and therefore excludes those who are gay but not part of the subculture of clubs and social networks. Msibi (2013:266) thus claims that isiNgqumo does not represent a "gay language" generally used by black gay men in South Africa but a language that is sometimes spoken by some such men, and also by women. Many men also choose not to use isiNgqumo, especially in their professional domains, as it carries the risk of exposure which may result in harsh consequences (including murder) (Msibi 2013:267). Msibi (2013:268) therefore argues that Lavender Languages such as isiNgqumo should not be described as linguistic resources of everyone who identify as gay but rather as tools that are utilised in some contexts with some interlocutors.

2.2.3.2. Gayle

As mentioned in 2.2, the following section will provide a comprehensive discussion of Gayle which is based on the findings of six scholarly publications.

2.2.3.2.1. Cage's (2003) dictionary and discussion of the origins, functions, and features of Gayle

Cage's (2003) publication is the only academic source containing what was then considered a comprehensive dictionary of Gayle, as well as a discussion of the origins, functions and features of Gayle. Cage (2003:1) describes Gayle as a Lavender Language that was established to fulfil specific communicative needs of a sexually marginalised community in South African society during the Apartheid era - a time of inequality and oppression, particularly with regards to class, race, gender, and sexuality. From a sociolinguistic perspective, Gayle is not really considered a "language" as it does not have a syntax, phonology, or morphology of its own. Rather, it can be described as a kind of argot - a set of words replacing synonymous Afrikaans and/or English words (Cage 2003:23).

In terms of its origins, Cage (2003:19) identifies the coloured community of the Cape as having had the most "out" gays, known as "moffies" (a derogatory word for feminine gay men) during Apartheid. These coloured "moffies" began using an in-group form of communication which became known as Moffietaal. The word substituting "to chat" or "a chat" was "gail" in Moffietaal during the 1950s and it is from this word that the label Gayle emerged (Cage 2003:19). Since the rise of Moffietaal, this Lavender Language extended its lexicon as well as its range of users and became known as a secret code used by Afrikaans and English-speaking gay males in South Africa. Coloured gay mens' first language was Afrikaans, and prior to the Apartheid laws which divided coloured people from white people in the 1960s, much interaction occurred among these two groups. As such, Afrikaans speaking white gay men started to understand and use Gayle as they interacted with their "coloured sisters" (Cage 2003:19). Oppression of gay men in the late 1950s also led to a friendly atmosphere among Afrikaans and English-speaking gay men and, as such, Gayle expanded into the speech of English-speaking gay men (Cage 2003:19). This shift in the usage of Gayle meant that speakers could easily combine expressions from both Afrikaans and English (Cage 2003:20).

Moreover, Cage (2003:20) singles out the gay South African Airways stewards of the 1970s (or "koffie-moffies" as they were labelled) as instrumental in the distribution of Gayle, as a

large number of gay men were employed as flight attendants. Gayle progressed quickly during the "hours of gay gossip" as new words were created and older ones were either embedded or revived into the language, and as such these words were "introduced in feats of entertaining verbal creativity" (Cage 2003:22). The meeting place for off-duty flight stewards were the gay clubs and bars in the city, where much interaction occurred and accordingly, Gayle continued to expand and became a secret code used by large numbers of Afrikaans and English-speaking gay men in South Africa (Cage 2003:22).

One of the most notable linguistic characteristics of Gayle, and the feature that enables its speakers to communicate with some degree of secrecy, is the use of female names as synonyms for a range of verbs, adjectives and nouns with pejorative and sexual connotations, many of which are alliterative with their meanings in English, for example, "Erica" to refer to an "erection", or "Dora" to refer to "a drink" (Cage 2003:28). Interestingly, the flexibility in the use of female names means that many can be used as: (i) a noun, as in "Do you have a Dora for me?", (ii) an adjective, as in "She's so dora, she can't stand up straight", or (iii) a verb, as in "Don't dora too much" (Cage 2003:28). Furthermore, due to the influence of female names on the gender of pronouns, it is not uncommon to witness a Gayle speaker utter something like "Where does she think she is going?" when referring to a gay man, or using words like "girlfriend", "girl", "slut", "bitch", etc. to refer to each other (Cage 2003:30). Another prominent feature of Gayle, and one that according to Cage (2003:33), exists globally in the speech of gay men, is the linguistic means of reginisation, for example, "Queen" is a significant word in gay speech and is perhaps the most adaptable and frequently used word in the lexicon of gay people (Cage 2003:33). In nominal phrases, "queen" as the head noun, modified by another noun or adjective, is typical in Gayle, for example, calling an ugly man a "Hilda Queen" instead of only "Hilda" is considered to be more hurtful (Cage 2003:34).

In addition, Gayle consists of many words such as "fag" and "moffie" which were historically used by heterosexuals in a demeaning manner and have been reclaimed and re-appropriated by some gay men to describe themselves, while others use it to tell humorous or mean-spirited stories about other gay men (Cage 2003:31). Due to Gayle's informal nature, users frequently invent and modify words to fulfil their communicative needs, and many of these words underwent meaning changes over the years. The language is also subject to regional variation in meaning and use, for example, in the Western Cape, Olga means organised but in Gauteng it refers to an ugly and old person (Cage 2003:28).

Given its secretive nature, it makes sense that Gayle thrived during the most homophobic and tyrannical era of history in South Africa. In the 1970s, hiding one's gay identity was crucial to escape social rejection and criminal prosecution, and Gayle enabled gay men to communicate with each other in close proximity to those who were unaware of the intended meanings of such communication (Cage 2003:35). While Cage (2003:35) acknowledges that gay men still use Gayle to convey secretive information, he claims that it is more commonly used to utter something "bitchy" about another person, or as a "revelation technique" that allows its speakers to drop subtle hints about their sexuality (Cage 2003:36). Moreover, Cage (2003:35) seems to indicate that the secrecy that popularised the language during the apartheid years was no longer considered the key function of Gayle at the time of his publication as this kind of concealment was no longer needed. Furthermore, Cage (2003: 38) also found that Gayle implicitly functions as a form of social protest against the principles of dominant society and the external obligation of a linguistic organisation of values which does not consider the experience of the speaker. In addition, Gayle often functions as a linguistic identification tool that allows gay men to perform their sexual identities and to relate and identify with one another and the group and, as such, it provides a sense of belonging and solidarity to members of a marginalised group in society (Cage 2003:36). However, Cage (2003:37) believes that this identification function is more significant in an historical context due to South Africa's history of oppression.

Today, most Gayle words have been recollected and maintained for fun by its speakers, and according to Cage (2003:37) most Gayle speakers use it for purposes of humour and fun. Gayle is also used as linguistic creativity as it enables speakers to verbally outwit one another while simultaneously entertaining their audience, for example calling someone who speaks too much an "Elsie Geselsie" or calling a man who lacks personal hygiene "Ramona Rottencrotch" (Cage 2003:37). Furthermore, Gayle is used as a "social engineering device" as those who can hold a witty conversation and have a sharp tongue are placed higher on the social hierarchy of the gay community and the "linguistically-challenged" gay men occupy a lower position and often view the former in awe or fear (Cage 2003:38).

2.2.3.2.2. McCormick's (2003) Queer analysis of the discursive construction of gay identity in Cage's (2003) book

McCormick (2003:149) criticises Cage's (2003) depiction of Gayle as creating the impression of a fixed, single, homogenous gay identity in South Africa, which maintains essentialist notions that reduce identity to sexuality. This is in direct contrast to the perspectives that

McCormick (2003) uses in her analysis, such as Butler's (1990) theory of performativity, in which identity is seen as something that one does rather than something that one is, allowing a researcher to move from studying "human being to human doing", and Queer Theory, in which the word "queer" is viewed as a verb instead of a noun (McCormick 2003: 151).

Pointing to the significance of this study, McCormick (2003:152) argues that Cage's (2003) dictionary does not explore the intersections of gender, sexuality, class, and race as it is predominantly centred on white Afrikaans and English-speaking gay males, and therefore it is not a reflection of an authentic and exclusively South African gay language. McCormick (2003:152) further disagrees with Cage's (2003:27) claim that both the speaker and listener engaging in a conversation through the use of Gayle both have to be gay males, and both have to be aware that the other is gay. Moreover, McCormick (2003:155) emphasises the significance of making use of different terms to describe who or what is being topicalised as it avoids definitional rigidity and claims that this is missing in Cage's (2003) work as it "rigorously defines homosexual and gay identity as stable entities with certain attributes".

Furthermore, McCormick (2003:153) critiques Cage's (2003) claim that all gay men speak Gayle, and that Gayle forms a part of the coming out process and identity formation of all gay men. Opposing this, McCormick (2003:150) argues that only some gay men speak Gayle sometimes in some contexts, and that people who do not identify as members of the LGBTI+ community, including heterosexual allies, "may be masters of the code". McCormick (2003:150) supports this argument by pointing to the fact that other studies that have examined how language is used to index gay identity, belonging, and solidarity with the LGBTI+ community have deduced that there are no obvious distinctions between the ways in which gay people and straight people use language.

Reaffirming Kulick's (2000:247) assertion that "there is no such thing as gay or lesbian language", McCormick (2003:154) claims that Gayle is not at all an exclusive South African gay language because it is mostly limited to lexical items rather than grammar and phonology, and that these lexical items are accessible to anybody, despite sexual orientation (McCormick 2003: 153). This again ties in with Butler's (1990) theory of performativity, which acknowledges that "linguistic practices are inherently available to anyone to use for a wide variety of purposes, and to a wide variety of social effects" (McCormick 2003:150). Thus, McCormick (2003:152) argues that "camp talk" as described by Cage (2003) do not only belong to gay males as it is a linguistic resource that anyone can make use of.

Lastly, McCormick (2003:152) asserts that the essentialised gay male identity, such as the use of Gayle, as described by Cage (2003), seems to be a linguistic survival technique that is believed will gradually disappear with equality for all. McCormick (2003: 158) criticises Cage's (2003) prediction that Gayle is likely to "die out" in post-Apartheid South Africa and states that it can be used to "subvert essentialised notions of gender and sexuality" in a heteronormative society that still largely maintains patriarchal beliefs and traditions.

2.2.3.2.3. Luyt's (2014) exploration of the attitudes, history, and usage of Gayle

Over a decade later, Luyt's (2014) MA dissertation has followed up on Cage's (2003) research on Gayle. In this study, Luyt (2014:32) drew on qualitative and quantitative research methods in order to explore the usage of Gayle among white middle-class, English L1 gay men in Cape Town, who are between twenty and thirty years of age, and who are either students at a tertiary institution, or recently appointed professionals who hold tertiary level qualifications (Luyt 2014:78). Luyt's (2014:33) primary research tool was a questionnaire on gay slang which contained five web pages which were divided into three sections, namely: opinions, definitions for terms, and a word list of terms used. The qualitative questions aimed to elicit current attitudes and knowledge of Gayle while the quantitative question aimed to track usage changes. Most of the respondents in this study were Facebook friends or friendly acquaintances and as such, Luyt (2014:45) acknowledges that this may be why all of the participants were of the same or similar age, race, gender, home language, educational level, etc., and admits that "the sample does not claim representation beyond a narrow pool of respondents". Just as Cage's (2003) publication focused predominantly on middle-class white gay males, the same is true of Luyt's (2014) study.

The findings from Luyt's (2014:78) research indicate that in the current day, Gayle is very often used and can best be described as a set of words and phrases mainly used by LGBTI+ community members and those who interact closely with them. The dissemination of Gayle terms has been attributed to the developing international gay media, gay references in international and local media as well as computer-mediated communications, and even though there may be generational variation, the political history of Gayle as well as its functions, are known by Luyt's (2014:78) group of young male participants and remains in use. According to Luyt (2014:78), most derogatory terms such as "moffie" or "fag" appear to be decreasing in usage, and many terms are also rapidly being integrated into mainstream society, and thus no longer have their secret code appeal. A niche for new gay terminologies and expressions has

therefore been generated, like those used in different television shows such as 'RuPaul's Drag Show' and others that are popular among the gay community (Luyt 2014:78).

This study found that in Cape Town, Gayle remains a part of the gay community where it is embraced as a means of making light of historical cruelties with regards to their sexuality and the homophobia associated with it. Contrary to Cage's (2003) findings but in line with Rudwick and Ntuli's (2008) findings, Luyt (2014:52) claims that the main function of Gayle is still to communicate secretively in the company of heterosexual people without fearing judgment for being gay or for the content of their verbal exchange (2014:52). Luyt (2014:52) further argues that in the past, Gayle created a connection between gay individuals and therefore it is still thriving in current day. In addition, and in line with Cage's (2003:37) findings, Gayle is also used for humour and entertainment purposes and also as a marker of group solidarity (Luyt: 2014:79).

Luyt's study (2014:54) further found that participants are cautious of using Gayle in front of those who might not be tolerant of their sexual orientation or behaviour, and that it is mostly used where gay people feel accepted, which implies that there is some kind of stigma attached to the language despite its secrecy (Luyt 2014:55). The parents' home, homes of family members, work, or where no gay people are present, were identified as the least accepting and least appropriate places for the use of Gayle, especially considering its good-humoured and sexualised nature. Speakers of Gayle therefore reserves its use for places that are considered safe and comfortable (Luyt 2014:55). Again, this finding points to the importance of secrecy as a function of Gayle and therefore contrasts Cage's (2003:35) study which gives the impression that Gayle's secretive function, at the time of publication, was not as significant as it was during Apartheid.

Interestingly, Luyt (2014:79) further claims that there are also those who actively avoid using Gayle and identified two reasons for this: i) they avoid it out of respect for the gay community and ii) they feel that it divides them further from mainstream society, as it acts as a form of self-exclusion from a society that they have worked to fit into. This aligns with Gevisser and Cameron's (1994: 223) claim that Lavender Languages may separate speakers from mainstream society as it may maintain the stereotypical perceptions of society towards gay people which may be the reason for the gay community's mixed perceptions and opinions towards Lavender Languages (Gevisser and Cameron 1994:223). However, Luyt (2014:79) states that so much of

Gayle is becoming part of mainstream society that the lines between English/Afrikaans and Gayle have become blurred, as it is difficult to indicate where it starts and ends.

2.2.3.2.4. Hendricks's (2014) investigation of the ways in which speakers use Gayle as an anti-language and as a form of carnival

Hendricks's (2014) study investigates the perceptions of two focus groups of local speakers of Gayle to discover how they feel about Gayle, the domains in which they use it, and the meanings they associate with it. Hendricks (2014:23) made use of a list of questions for her focus group and provides a comprehensive review of past and present sociolinguistic concepts in order to reflect on Gayle as an anti-language (Halliday 1976 cited in Hendricks 2014:15) and as a modern form of carnival (Bakhtin 1984 cited in Hendricks 2014:18). According to Hendricks (2014:34), Gayle cannot be defined as a complete language as it does not have its own set of grammatical rules, rather, it consists of sets of words and figurative expressions that comprise it. This definition of Gayle, from a sociolinguistic perspective, aligns with both McCormick (2003:154) who states that Gayle consists mainly of lexical items rather than grammar and phonology, and with Luyt (2014:78) who describes Gayle as a set of words and phrases. It also ties in with Cage's (2003:23) definition of Gayle as a set of words replacing synonymous Afrikaans and/or English words.

In her discussion of Gayle as an "anti-language", Hendricks (2014:15) refers to Halliday (1976:570), who claim that anti-languages are special forms of language created by a kind of "anti-society"- a society constructed within another society as a conscious alternative to it. Hendrick's (2014:15) uses the term "anti-language" to describe Gayle, as it was created by South Africa's LGBTI+ community (anti-society) and it promotes and acts as an alternative social reality to mainstream society in the sense that it allows for the discursive performance of non-dominant forms of sexuality. This ties in with Cage's (2003:38) claim that Gayle resists the norms of mainstream society.

Moreover, Hendricks (2014) explains how the use of Gayle can be understood as a means of discursively constructing an alternative social reality and how Gayle can be classified as a form of contemporary carnival. Bakhtin (1984:8) describes the 'second life' as a "festive life" that is "organised on the basis of laughter" and within this second life, behaviour, gesture and discourse are freed which results in "joyful and disorderly conduct" as social hierarchies are suspended (Lensmire 1994:4 cited by Hendricks 2014:19). As such, Hendricks claims that

Gayle heightens the moods of its speakers by generating a joyous, 'carnivalesque atmosphere' and that it promotes a dialogue that is entertaining and humorous (2014:31-35). In line with Luyt (2014:55), Hendricks's findings further indicate that Gayle is commonly used in informal social spaces which are considered "gay friendly" as they lend themselves to the creation of an alternate reality in which non-heteronormative forms of sexuality are celebrated (Hendricks (2014:35).

In line with Butler's (1990) theory of performativity cited in McCormick (2003:151), which views identity as something that one does rather than something that one is, several participants in Hendricks's (2014:34) study regard the term "Gayle" as a verb instead of a noun and is thus conceptualised as something that one does to perform one's identity. Hendricks (2014:22) further makes use of Heugh's (2014) definition of 'languaging' to explain how speakers are involved in constructing social reality when they 'gayle'. This also aligns with Cage's (2003:36) understanding of Gayle as a linguistic identification tool that allows gay men to perform their sexual identities and to relate and identify with one another and the group. Hendricks (2014:21) also makes use of Bakhtin's (1981) term 'centrifugal forces' (dialogue which opposes the norm) to explain how Gayle resists the customs of Standard English by making use of an alternative vocabulary, and therefore claim that Gayle is subject to on-going centrifugal forces as it is always changing and speakers continually create new words to suit their communicative needs (Hendricks 2014:35).

In agreement with McCormick's (2003:150) argument that Gayle is not a uniquely gay language and that not all gay men speak Gayle, Hendricks (2014:3) found that Gayle has crept into the speech of people varying across age, race, gender and sexuality and even though Gayle is considered a gay language, not all gay men speak and understand it, or have positive attitudes toward it. However, this study found that most speakers hold positive attitudes toward Gayle and describe it as a fun way of communicating (Hendricks 2014:34).

2.2.3.2.5. Plato's (2017) Honours research of why, how and where Gayle is used and its significance in constructing sexual identity and/or belonging

This study is grounded in the collection of semi-structured interview and focus group data of self-identified members of the LGBTI+ community that speak Gayle (Plato 2017:1). Participants in this study are either members of or identifies with the LGBTI+ community and all speak Gayle to a certain extent (Plato 2017:21). The main focus of this study was the

significance of Gayle in constructing identity and a sense of belonging for those who speak it, which was guided by sub questions which dealt with why, how, and where Gayle is used. These sub-questions also dealt with the extent to which it is used as an expression of belonging or solidarity and the feelings associated with the use of Gayle by heterosexual individuals (Plato 2017:4-5). The rationale behind my (2017:1) study was the limited research that existed on the topic of Gayle at the time, as well as the dominant focus on white men. Similar to the current study, the aim of the one-on-one interviews was to elicit speakers' knowledge of Gayle, opinions and reasons for using Gayle and feelings associated with the use of Gayle without the influence of the presence of other Gayle speakers, while the aim of the focus group was to elicit the same thing but to see how the influence of other Gayle speakers may impact responses or create further discussion. The overall aim was therefore to see if patterns around identity, solidarity and belonging would be elicited (Plato 2017:20).

This study found that participants understand Gayle as a form of secretive communication (Plato 2017:25) that allows them to express their sexual identities (Plato 2017:27). It also revealed an awareness of the political origins of Gayle and the need for secrecy in participants' everyday lives (Plato 2017:26). In line with Luyt's (2014:54) claim that Gayle is mostly used where gay people feel accepted, this (2017:32) study revealed that participants construct and perform their identities in a flexible and temporary manner, as participants re(construct) their identities through the use of Gayle in domains that are safe and comfortable for them and avoid using it in domains where they feel unsafe or uncomfortable (Plato 2017:30). In agreement with McCormick (2003:158), the data from this (2017) study contradicts Cage's (2003:35) viewpoint that secrecy and concealment is no longer necessary. The study in this regard, aligns more with Rudwick and Ntuli's (2008:447) viewpoint as they claim that homophobia and patriarchy still exist in South Africa, which explains the current and probable future existence of isiNgqumo. Just as they found that concealment and secrecy are still of interest to some Black gay people in certain situations and contexts, this study found that the same is true for many coloured LGBTI+ members (Plato 2017:39). This finding also aligns with Hendricks's (2014:35) finding that Gayle is used for purposes of closed communication and thrives in 'gay friendly' informal social domains.

In this study, I further discuss Gayle as a discursive resource that participants draw upon to perform their sexual identities in order to create a sense of belonging and solidarity with the LGBTI+ community (Plato 2017:30). Moreover, and in line with Butler's (1990:137) notion of

identity performance as a strategy of resistance, my study found that Gayle is used to express sexual identity and functions as a strategy of resistance against the principles of a dominant heteronormative, and often queerphobic society (Plato 2017:40). Moreover, as noted before, Cage (2003:37) claims that the identification function of Gayle was more relevant during South Africa's era of oppression, yet the findings from this study revealed that this function is still highly significant in the current day (Plato 2017:40).

This study also unpacks the question of whether or not Gayle should be used by non-LGBTI+ individuals (Plato 2017:32). According to the findings, one of the primary arguments that were made in favour of the use of Gayle by straight people was the idea that Gayle would give them insight into LGBTI+ culture, and that this insight could lead to reduced homophobia and increased acceptance of the LGBTI+ community. A second argument was that Gayle could be the dialectal equivalent of a lingua franca, a common language that will allow straight people to communicate and express solidarity with members of the LGBTI+ community. A third argument was that straight people can help spread Gayle to other members of the LGBTI+ community, which can result in making them more comfortable with their own sexuality (Plato 2017:40-41). Contradicting these viewpoints is the idea that the use of Gayle by non-LGBTI+ members would be considered cultural appropriation and the fear that this will lead to a loss of identity and culture for members of the LGBTI+ community. Another argument against the use of Gayle by straight people, that was found in this study, is the fear that the "safe space" that is created by the use of Gayle will be lost once the language loses its secrecy (Plato 2017:35).

This study reveals conflicting attitudes about who Gayle is for, and about Gayle being known or used by straight people, which indicates the importance of this issue in the current day as more and more straight people are starting to understand and use Gayle (2017:32-37). Although none of the studies focus on this topic, McCormick (2003: 150) and Hendricks (2014:3) do however make it clear that non-LGBTI+ people may also know and use Gayle.

I argue that the themes uncovered in my study is best suited to be viewed through a queer linguistic lens as this theoretical framework allows for the recognition of the heteronormativity and homophobia that still permeate all aspects of society, and enables one to make sense of the arguments both against and for the use of Gayle by heterosexual individuals as it can be attributed to the conflicting needs of safety and secrecy on the one hand, and visibility and acceptance on the other (2017: 36;41). I further conclude that Gayle can be understood as a

Lavender Language that considers the experience of the LGBTI+ speakers as a marginalised community in a predominantly heteronormative society (Plato 2017:42).

2.2.3.2.6. Mulligan's (2018) autoethnographic investigation of Gayle, and its role in the construction of identity

Mulligan's (2018) research is the most recent study on the topic of Gayle and is described as an intersection of linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork, which is particularly centred on autoethnography (Mulligan 2018:1). Through the researcher's personal experience, and the testimony of her participants, the ethnography in Mulligan's (2018:4) research provides a lived experience to the knowledge of Gayle. In line with Plato's (2017:1) rationale for a focus on people of colour, Mulligan (2018:4) claims that previous research on Gayle "carried out an erasure of the coloured community" in the formation and spread of Gayle. Mulligan (2018:2) describes herself as a "non-linguist filmmaker" who has access to a community of Gayle speakers, and states that because of her choice of participants (for example, using her brother as her primary informant), the manner in which the film was shot, and the fact that her research is not centred on the linguistic origins of Gayle, this study takes a subjective approach. The perception of Mulligan as an "outsider" and the fact that her interest in the topic of Gayle did not guarantee access into the gay community, is what caused her to tackle this research using a networking approach and consider the filmmaking process as "an act of collecting moments" (Mulligan 2018:23). Gayle is viewed from the perspective of which the researcher, filmmaker, and character often experiences it, and therefore, most locations in the film are inside the homes of informants (Mulligan 2018:2). The main objective of the film is to demonstrate how Gayle functions to unite a community of people "through a series of testimonies and narratives using on-camera interviews, sound design, stills, illustrations and animation" (Mulligan 2018:4).

While Cage (2003:13) claims that due to the repressive anti-gay legislation in 1968, gay people were driven into bars and nightclubs where Gayle found fertile soil amongst white men, Mulligan's (2018:16) study found that Gayle's origins can be traced back to the 1970s as gay coloured men found use for Gayle while working in white owned hair salons as cleaners and shampooers. These salons only catered to white consumers and called for the use of Gayle in order to communicate and form a bond while gossiping about clients who were in their company (Mulligan 2018:13). Thus, according to Mulligan (2018:16), Gayle initially developed as a means of safely speaking back to the racial and economic divisions, and to the "white privilege

sitting in the chairs". Using Gayle as a form of protest allowed speakers to find solidarity and power as they used Gayle to linguistically establish their agency (Mulligan 2018:16).

Further, Mulligan (2018:3) believes that the coloured community was more tolerant of the gay experience than those communities with stauncher traditional beliefs, and that the gay experience was not mostly rejected within the coloured community. Rather, there has always been a complicated balance of tolerance without officially accepting LGBTI+ community members and their experiences. According to Mulligan (2018:3), most coloured individuals, including heterosexuals, know of Gayle's existence and have appropriated particular words and phrases into their speech, and therefore, Gayle is considered a significant factor of coloured identity. This ties in with McCormick's (2003:153) argument that Gayle is a linguistic resource available for anyone to make use of. Mulligan (2018:3) also claims that in the present day, many of the terms that were exclusively used to refer to gay men are no longer gender specific.

In line with Cage's (2003:36) view of Gayle as a linguistic identification tool, Hendricks' (2014:34) understanding of Gayle as a verb rather than a noun, and Plato's (2017:30) discussion of Gayle as a discursive resource used as sexual identity performance, Mulligan (2018:16) claim that Gayle has "moved outside the exclusive walls of a subculture and into the broader population of Cape Town and into popular media" as it used by artists such as rapper, Dope Saint Jude (DSJ) as a celebration of sexual identity. However, in line with Hendricks (2014:34) and Luyt (2018:79), Mulligan (2018:23) found that for some coloured speakers, Gayle symbolises a low-class structure, which is associated with the 'informal', and this produces negative perceptions of Gayle.

Like previously mentioned studies' (Cage 2003:28; Luyt 2014:79; Hendricks 2014:34) view of Gayle's informal, dynamic and ever-changing nature, Mulligan's (2018:10) study found that Gayle is constantly changing, however, many people who have been using Gayle for a long time take it more seriously and feel that the current flexibility and ever-changing nature of Gayle is damaging its foundation. Mulligan (2018:18) also found that although many Gayle words have changed, some have remained the same for decades, for example the word "nancy", which means "no", or "not", has existed since its inception and is still used today.

In line with Plato's (2017:40) conceptualisation of Gayle as a strategy of resistance, Mulligan (2018:17) found that Gayle can be understood as a means to challenge cultural, conservative ideologies, and has maintained its initial relevance as a form of protest against the unfair power

dynamics that remains in the current day (Mulligan 2018:16). This also ties in with Cage's (2003:38) claim that Gayle resists the norms of mainstream society which excludes the LGBTI+ experience.

Furthermore, and in line with Luyt (2014:55), Hendricks (2014:35), and Plato (2017:30), Mulligan (2018:7) states that Gayle continues to thrive in places with a party or club-like atmosphere, however, Mulligan (2018:28) further claim that it also used in a variety of other spaces. Moreover, Mulligan's (2018:28) study found that a "good story" and awareness of an audience is an important component for the use of Gayle.

In explaining the subtitling of the film, Mulligan (2018:27) states that very frequently, participants speak Kaaps, English and Afrikaans, and that Gayle is embedded into this structure. She further explains that it is not surprising or uncommon for coloured speakers to mix and switch between Kaaps, Gayle, English, and Afrikaans as this structure forms part of their everyday life, arguing that a motive for this would be to access different identities, display deference, express emotions, and/or to accommodate or build a social barrier (Mulligan 2018:27). This points to the importance of the current study which deals with the intersections of these languages, particularly Gayle and Kaaps, and as such, with the intersecting identities involved.

2.3. Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of Kaaps and the critical issues involved in understanding its development, its linguistic features, how the standardisation of Afrikaans led to the marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps and its speakers, and the significance of Kaaps as part of the schooling curriculum and in constructing coloured identity. It also provided a discussion of Lavender Languages, with particular focus on Gayle, highlighting its origins, its linguistic features, its functions, and its domains of use, and showing how previous research on Gayle either align with or contradict each other. The following chapter will provide an overview of the theoretical framework of this study.

Chapter 3: Language and identity: A sociolinguistic approach

This chapter will provide a detailed overview of the sociolinguistic framework used in this study. It will focuss on sociolinguistic perspectives of language, identity, gender, sexuality and race, and will discuss the relevance of Queer Linguistics, Raciolinguistics and Intersectionality in this study. It will also focus on the notion of performativity and the concept of the linguistic repertoire as theoretical concepts relevant for the analysis of data of this study.

3.1. A sociolinguistic perspective on identity

This study is situated within the broad field of Sociolinguistics, which originated as the pursuit to understand language variation and its relationship with the social life of its users (Deckert and Vickers 2011:33). Sociolinguistics can be described as the study of how languages, dialects, and varieties of languages are used in political, economic, and social ways as it deals with language in society and comprises a wide array of methods and approaches to investigate and ask questions about language (Deckert and Vickers 2011:2). It enables the investigation of how identities in any given situation are linguistically constructed and co-constructed, thereby attempting to correlate linguistic variation with social identity categories (Deckert and Vickers 2011:3).

Traditionally, most Sociolinguists described people 'marking' their identities with their linguistic behaviour, which implies that their identities were already determined and stable. This perspective is found, for example, in Labov's (1964; 1972) early work on how social class is indexed by sound variation and how social class affect language patterns in structured ways. However, in the present day, identity is understood to be 'constructed' or 'performed' using linguistic resources. As such, Sociolinguistics adopted a more complex understanding of the relationship between language and what Hall and Bucholtz (1995) called "the socially constructed self". This led to a focus on the complexity and interconnectedness of various identities and paved the way for the deconstruction of identity categories. Accordingly, Hall (1996:17) views identity as something that is never unified. Rather, it develops into something which is continuous, and which is constructed across various, often intersecting, and contrasting discourses and positions. Hall (1996:19) uses the term identity to refer to the "meeting point, the point of *suture"*, between i) the practices and discourses which try to "interpellate, speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses", and ii) "the processes which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'". Therefore, identities are moments of

temporary attachment to the subject positions which are constructed via discursive practices (Hall 1996:19).

In light of the above, Deckert and Vickers (2011:9) states that the term "identity" is not equal to notions of the self as it is possible to have identities constructed that by no means reflect the way individuals think about themselves, for example, a specific identity constructed for someone can be unwanted or rejected. Thus, although identity may be related to an individual's sense of self, it is not equal to it. Rather, the notion of identity, from a Sociolinguistic perspective, is clearly associated with notions of performance (Deckert and Vickers 2011:10). Identity as a performed construct, is dependent on the contexts of that construction, and as such, people have various identities and belong to various social groups, which means that it is possible for different identities to be more or less salient in different contexts. Identity is therefore a "flexible, fluid and multi-aspected co-construction" that only, to some extent, reflects an individual's sense of self (Deckert and Vickers 2011:10). Moreover, Bucholtz and Hall (2005:605) state that even seemingly coherent displays of identity, like those that pose as intentional and conscious, depend on both ideological and interactional constraints for their articulation. Thus, identity will always be "partial" and it is constructed via contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of self and other.

According to Cameron and Kulick (2003:138), identity still has connotations of suggesting a somewhat intentional claim-staking by a subject who knows exactly who they are or are not, and what they want to be or do not want to be. To be clear, Sociolinguists have never implied that speakers are aware of all the distinctions of linguistic behaviour which indicates identity. Most times, people's linguistic behaviour cannot be seen as deliberate, and speakers cannot always say what motivated them to linguistically behave in a particular manner at a particular moment. However, Sociolinguists do presume that speakers are aware of the identities which are constructed linguistically, and even if they are not completely aware of all the ways they are using language to construct identity, speakers are in some sense aiming to represent themselves as specific kinds of people who utilise language in specific kinds of ways. As such, speakers stake claims to identity by communicating in certain ways, and at times intentionally attempt to sound like, for example, a "queer" person or a "local" person (Cameron and Kulick 2003:138).

3.2. A sociolinguistic perspective on language, gender and sexuality

Over the years, an exploration of the relationship between 'language and sexuality' has developed as a field of study and there have been many debates about what an investigation of sexuality should concentrate on. Particularly, these debates center on whether it should focus on sexual identity or on desire. Researchers such as Cameron and Kulick (2003) view sexual desire as something which is more internal, and which lies at the center of 'sexuality' (Schilling 2011:218), whereas others such as Bucholtz and Hall (2004:487) argue that sexuality is no more asocial than gender and that due to the power structures of society, gender and sexuality are inextricable. Furthermore, Motschenbacher and Stegu (2013:521) claim that the connection between gender and sexuality is influenced by hegemonic standards which maintain the assumption that men are and should be attracted to women and vice versa, and that men who are not attracted to women are often perceived as not "real" men and vice versa. Therefore, individuals who express 'other' identities and desires are viewed as not normal and as such, the construction of gender and sexual identity depend extensively on the same discursive resources (Motschenbacher 2011:150). In view of this, the notion of sexuality and gender as entangled psychological and social constructs will be used for purposes of this thesis.

Questions regarding the connection between language and gender were initially centered on male-female language variation. However, the focus progressively shifted from understanding gender as an innate attribute to understanding it as "an interactional achievement" or as a performance or an enactment that can manifest itself differently in different communities and cultures, and across and within everyday interactions (Schilling 2011:219). This shift led to a deeper focus on variation within traditionally conceived gender groups such as male and female, and on the linguistic practices of non-conforming groups such as gay men, lesbians or drag queens. Moreover, focusing on performance led to a shift in focus from relationships between language and social categories, such as "gay English" or "women's language" to how language is or can be used in the construction of gender and sexuality in more complex ways, such as using language to resist traditional gender/sexual roles, how gendered/sexual identities intersect with other identities, the influence of heteronormativity on the construction of gender/ sexuality, or how the construction of gendered/sexual identities are dependent on the context in which the interaction takes place (Schilling 2011:219).

In adopting a social constructionist view of identity, it is important to remember that individuals are not entirely free to construct any kind of identity or use any language features they want as they are restricted by social forces such as stereotypes for 'appropriate' gender/sexual roles and relations, and societal norms and expectations (Schilling 2011:219). This is because everyone is, to some extent, restricted by the heteronormativity that infiltrates society, that is, the belief that the conventional gender order consists of heterosexual males and females who behave in normative ways, such as feminine women and masculine men, and whoever falls outside this norm is "marked" (Schilling 2011:220). Research should therefore concentrate on the omnipresent impact of heteronormativity on speakers' agentive identity constructions. Accordingly, Sociolinguistic research of language, gender, and sexual identity aligns itself with feminist and queer theories (Schilling 2011:220) and developed into what is now referred to as Queer Linguistics, "an approach to language and sexuality that incorporates insights from feminist, queer, and Sociolinguistic theories to analyze sexuality as a broad sociocultural phenomenon" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004:469).

3.3. Queer Linguistics

Queer Linguistics is a subsection of Sociolinguistics, which focusses on the linguistic practices of the LGBTI+ community, such as the use of Lavender Languages and how members of the LGBTI+ community construct their sexuality and gender discursively (Rudwick 2010:128). Queer Linguistics can be described as "critical heteronormativity research" due to its motive to challenge the heterosexual norms of society and draws on poststructuralist ideas in its argument about the connection between language, gender, and sexuality (Motschenbacher 2011:150). It entails analyses of language data that are advised by the understandings of Queer Theory, "a cover term for various, often highly heterogenous approaches that are driven by a critical focus on heteronormativity, that is, the discursive construction of certain forms of heterosexuality as natural, normal, or preferable" (Motschenbascher and Stegu 2013:520). Taking a queer perspective is a matter of choosing to view specific behaviours from the perspective of the sexually marginalised, that is, from a non-heteronormative view (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013:520). Queer Theory is fundamental for understanding Sociolinguistic practice if we want to understand the role of language in society in order to avoid naively reproducing cultural ideology, such as exclusionary practices, methods of social domination, and prejudice (Barret 2002:39 cited in Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013:522).

As mentioned before, Queer Linguistics developed within language and gender studies and is still entwined with this discipline. According to Motschenbacher (2011:153), post-structuralist approaches to language and identity within Queer Linguistics align with the more complex understanding of identity as a concept, that is, speakers construct their identities through language use, often in a fluid and temporary manner and as such, identity is not understood as a stable, pre-discursive given, as discussed earlier. Queer Linguistics therefore concentrates on the discursive systems that govern all sexual identities or desires and also focusses on investigating the discursive construction of heterosexuality. An important reason for this focus is that an exclusive interest on the linguistic construction of LGBTI+ identities would suggest that heterosexual identities are less a question of discursive construction, which is clearly not the case. Therefore, a non-critical focus of research which is centred on the LGBTI+ community would re-inscribe the understanding that heterosexuality is the implicitly supposed default sexuality and that other sexualities are marked (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013:524).

In line with the majority of existing studies in Queer Linguistics, this study subscribes to the conceptualisation of identity as something that is constructed through repeated performances, and thus as something that one does, rather than something that one is. Treating categories associated with identity as stable and fixed maintains hierarchies that social justice efforts aim to eliminate (Warner and Shields 2013:807), and likewise, this study aims to acknowledge and address the fluid, negotiated characteristics of identity. As explained by Milani (2016: 445), this does not mean that the existence of identity categories such as male, female, gay, and straight, is denied, nor is the social and cognitive effects of self-identifying and being labelled according to these categories denied. Instead, the fact that these discursive processes are both constitutive of and constituted by social reality is acknowledged.

Furthermore, the fact that the realm of sexual identity is used as a starting point in its questioning practice makes Queer Theory and Queer Linguistics unique throughout the field of critical academic paradigms, yet it still shares certain motivational aspects with other critical fields such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013:520). As such, Queer Theory and Queer Linguistics may be criticised for being of restricted relevance as they apparently only investigate matters of interest to members of sexual minority groups. However, according to Motschenbacher (2011:158), this is a false assertion as Queer Linguistics does not exclusively study gay and lesbian facets of language, as mentioned before. Instead, it focusses on the discursive materialisation of all sexual identities, with specific

emphasis on the fact that heteronormativity, as the dominant discourse of sexuality, not only has negative consequences for members of sexual minorities but also for heterosexual individuals. Queer Linguistics therefore focusses on the discursive materialisation of all sexual identities, with specific emphasis on the fact that heteronormativity, as the dominant discourse of sexuality, is a discursively shaped burden that commands everyone to position themselves according to it. This burden has far reaching consequences for non-heterosexual individuals that impact them throughout their lives: "from hiding their identity to repeated coming outs in diverse contexts, from their own personal struggle to the fight with heteronormatively structured institutions", for example families, church, etc. (Motschenbacher 2011:158). Moreover, heterosexual individuals also experience suffering as a result of heteronormative dominance as it idolises a specific type of heterosexuality, that is, one centred on rigid gender binaries and which gives men and women complementary and antagonistic roles and responsibilities. These function as a dictatorial norm or rule for the appraisal of sexual and gender identities (Motschenbacher 2011:158).

Also, apart from it being criticised for being of restricted relevance, as discussed above, post-structuralist approaches are frequently critiqued in terms of political agency and for the methodology. However, just like that of CDA, Queer Linguistics does not try to disprove the assertion that it carries out politically driven research. Rather, it explicitly acknowledges its critical stance and views it as a strength (Motschenbacher 2011:161) as it aims to challenge and reconsider mainstream thinking (Motschenbacher 2011:153). It also combines various viewpoints with the goal of providing alternative and mutually qualifying standpoints. (Moschenbacher 2011:161).

3.4. A sociolinguistic perspective on language and ethnicity

"So, if you want to really hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity. I am my language" -Gloria Anzaldúa, Borderlands: La Frontera

According to Fought (2011:239), "recent sociolinguistic research has revealed the amazing power that linguistic practices have to shape and even transform ethnicity", and, as a matter of fact, the relationship between language and ethnicity may be more striking than any other social factors such as age, gender, sexuality etc. The sociopolitical relationship between language and ethnicity is so powerful that the use of linguistic practices that are related to a specific ethnic group may be adequate enough for an individual to be recognised as a member of that group

(Bucholtz 1995:355 in Fought 2011:239). One's ethnic identity can be accompanied by something that is not a language, nor a dialect, but a linguistic process (for example, code-switching). Although the linguistic variety associated with one's ethnic identity can function as a source of pride and in-group humour, and as a "welcoming beacon of home and community", it can also cause one to be vulnerable to stereotypes, discrimination, and ridicule (Fought 2011:238).

It is for these reasons (among others), that Raciolinguistics, a new academic field focusing on the theorisation of historic and present-day "co-naturalization" of language and race (Rosa and Flores 2017:622), aims to eliminate all forms of language-based discrimination and racism (Alim 2016:26). According to Alim (2016:3), Raciolinguistics is committed to "bringing to bear the diverse methods of linguistic analysis to ask and answer critical questions about the relationships between language, race and power across diverse ethnoracial contexts and societies". Alim makes reference to the killings of trans women of colour, the wave of violence and hate crimes against Muslims and people of colour mistaken for Muslims, and discrimination and hostility towards those who speak "English with an accent" (2016:25-26) as evidence of the real-life consequences of raciolinguistic discrimination. Dealing with such highly prevalent language-based discrimination, Raciolinguistics can be a viewed as a crucial, progressive linguistic movement that reveals how language is used as a means of economic, social and political oppression. A raciolinguistic perspective enables the unmasking of intersecting oppressions that come with linguistic and racial minoritisation and allows us to reshape and challenge discriminatory public discourses about racially and linguistically marginalised communities (Alim 2016:27).

As we move towards understanding that language varieties are not just comprised of a list of features associated with a given race, and toward questioning the concept of a fixed language variety, we pave way for the more fluid notion of "linguistic resources". As such, we can view linguistic resources as being utilised by speakers as they engage in processes and projects of identification (Alim 2016:2) as language plays a pivotal role in constructing racial and ethnic identities (Alim and Smitherman 2012:3) and is not merely an expression of a pre-determined ethnic identity (Fought 2011:238).

When linguists investigate different kinds of speakers and their communities, relating language to ethnicity may quickly become a complicated task, and one of the reasons for this is because race and ethnicity are themselves complicated social constructs. The construction of race and

ethnicity does not occur in isolation and differs across communities, and across and within individuals. Anything that a community believes to be socially relevant, as well as factors such as social class, gender, etc. will also play a role in this process. However, according to Fought (2011:239), the same factors that make the investigation of language and ethnicity a difficult one, also make it a fulfilling one as Sociolinguists are able to "illuminate the role of language in the construction of identity".

Scholars from various fields of study have determined that identity construction involve the organisation and amalgamation of various social factors, such as race, social class, gender, sexuality, age, and therefore, studying language and identity requires one to consider how other factors may influence the linguistic choices of a speaker (Fought 2011:244). Recent Sociolinguistic research further indicates that an "additive" model of identity is too simplistic and that we cannot assume that the social factors that influence identity construction are divisible and/or cumulative. Instead, it is often found that speakers linguistically index what Barret (1999:323) labels as "polyphonous identities" as their utterances signal the multi-dimensional nature of identity. Since both gender and ethnicity, for example, are complex categories, their influence on each other is expected to be equally complex, especially because it occurs in the context of many other social factors. Thus, when studying the behaviors, attitudes, and language repertoires of a specific ethnic community, one must pay attention to the possible effects that gender may have on the ways in which ethnicity is expressed (Fought 2011:246).

Although the fields of "language and identity", "language and sexuality" and of "language and gender" have been established for a long time, Raciolinguistics is both a field which largely focusses on race, and an intersectional project which understands race as always produced in conjunction with many different forms of social variation, and thus encourages researchers to view race as always intersecting with gender and sexuality (Alim 2016:25). Rosa and Flores (2017:635) further point out that the focus on the co-naturalisation of language and race is in no way intended to shift or divert from significant analyses of categories such as class, gender, sexuality, etc. Instead, a raciolinguistic approach is in concert with intersectional language-based research and can therefore add to understandings of the categories that are intersectionally constructed and communicatively co-established (Rosa and Flores 2017:635).

Furthermore, understanding the role of language in the construction of ethnic identity entails understanding how race and ethnicity are generally determined and how these concepts are

associated with each other. For purposes of this thesis, particularly with regards to the analysis of the findings of this study in the South African context, the term 'race' will be used. Even with all of its complexities, there are significant points of agreement among researchers studying race in various fields, with regards to the nature of ethnic identity (Fought 2011:240), which is why when discussing another author's work, this study uses whichever term the author uses. Firstly, both ethnicity and race are agreed to be socially constructed categories and are not grounded on any objectively assessable principles. Secondly, ethnicity cannot be understood or studied independently from other social variables, for example, it is important to acknowledge how gender/sexuality effects how race is constructed and vice versa. The construction of identity is a multidimensional process in which ethnicity may either play a more dominant, or a more minor role at any specific moment. Lastly, research on race and ethnicity also agree that self-identification as well as the perceptions of others play a significant role in identity construction as language, as along with several other factors, may influence how people are classified according to the dominant ideology of their communities. Ethnicity is connected to boundaries between groups and more notably, to ideologies about those boundaries, and the resulting classifications form a backdrop against which individuals can construct their identity. This process may occur either in disagreement to the community norms or in agreement to it and as such, this process will either dictate whether it serves to redefine, challenge, or conserve those boundaries (Fought 2011:240-241).

According to Ramjattan (2019:729), the value and practicality of Raciolinguistics lies in its vocabulary, which concisely defines topics regarding the interconnection of language and race. An example is the concept of 'languaging race', that is, to view race through the lens of language, which was introduced by Alim and Smitherman (2012:3) to better understand language and the process of racialisation. Alim and Smitherman (2012:3) argues that President Barack Obama's knowledge of black cultural modes of discourse played a vital role in him being elected as America's first black president, and his use of what has been racialised as "Black Language", for example, is a deliberate raciolinguistic project which occurred through raciolinguistic performances (Alim 2016:2). Additionally, Rosa and Flores (2015:150) introduce the concept of raciolinguistic ideologies, which link racialised bodies to imagined linguistic deficiencies. These are ideologies that create "racialised speaking subjects who are constructed as linguistically deviant even when engaging in linguistic practices positioned as normative or innovative when produced by privileged white subjects" (Rosa and Flores 2015:150). As such, a raciolinguistic approach aims to understand how the white gaze - a

perspective that favors dominant white views on the cultural and linguistic practices of racialised communities - is connected to both a speaking subject who participates in the flawless linguistic practices of whiteness, and to a listening subject who hears and interprets the linguistic practices of language-minoritised populations as abnormal based on their racial positioning in society as opposed to any objective features of their language use (Rosa and Flores 2015:151). Like the white gaze, the white speaking and listening subject is not understood as an individual but as an ideological stance which shapes our racialised society (Rosa and Flores 2015:151). This is because dominant racial perceptions can also be represented by policies, institutions, etc. or by "whiteness" as a historical and contemporary subject position that can be situationally inhabited by persons identified both as white and non-white (Rosa and Flores 2017:628).

Furthermore, as speakers are marginalised by raciolinguistic ideologies, racialised speakers can keep these ideologies alive in their own linguistic practices (Ramjattan 2019:729). Roth-Gordon's (2013) work on the flexibility of race in Brazil is indicative of the above-mentioned point as she investigates this flexibility through the lens of racial malleability, which is the idea that bodies are not simply racialised or given racial meaning. Instead, they remain racially malleable through daily practices that shift how bodies are racially perceived (Roth-Gordon 2013:295). As such, the concept of racial malleability is used to show how racial flexibility is demonstrated by racialised Brazilians as they embrace daily practices intended to alter negative perceptions of their racial appearances (Roth-Gordon 2013:296). According to Ramjattan (2019:729), racial malleability should thus be understood as the "everyday adoption of so-called White linguistic/cultural practices to lessen the stigma of one's racialised position in particular situations". This altering of race via language highlight raciolinguistic ideologies by implying that bettering one's race requires the borrowing of white behaviors and characteristics.

3.5. Intersectionality

This study takes an intersectional approach in its exploration of identity and identity-linked speech and as such, Intersectionality theory will provide a means to view experience as that which is shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways and to understand the intersections of social forces that motivate speakers' linguistic practices. According to Levon (2015:296), analysis of social meaning in the field of Sociolinguistics to date has been mainly compartmentalised, divided into separate focuses of race/ethnicity, sexuality, gender, region, class etc. An adequate account of social practice and lived experience entails bearing in

mind how various systems of social classification, such as race, sexuality, social class, etc., intersect in forceful and equally constitutive ways. Intersectionality theory is thus grounded in the belief that no one category, for example 'man' or 'gay', can adequately describe individual experience or behaviour (Levon 2015:295).

Intersectionality theory originated and developed in the 1980s from black feminism and critical race theory, which led to a more robust explanation of socially meaningful variation in language, gender, and sexuality research (Levon 2015:295). The term Intersectionality, which highlights the multifaceted complexity of marginalised individuals lived experiences, was introduced by legal academic, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and was used to address the problem of a single-axis framework where race and gender are regarded as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis (Crenshaw 1989:139). In addressing the marginalisation of black women within anti-racist and feminist politics and theory, and anti-discrimination law, Crenshaw (1989:140) argues that a single-axis framework removes black women in the identification, remediation and conceptualisation of race and sex discrimination by restricting analysis to the experiences of otherwise-privileged group members. This results in marginalisation of those who are "multiply-burdened" and complicates assertions that cannot be understood as resulting from distinct sources of discrimination (Crenshaw 1989:140). Additionally, an inaccurate analysis of racism and sexism is created as the operative conceptions of race and sex become based on experiences that, in reality, represent only a subset of a more multifaceted phenomenon. Crenshaw (1989:140) states that frequently, a distinct set of experiences does not truly reveal the interaction of race and gender, and that "the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism".

Furthermore, in her publication on feminist theory and her ongoing commitment to the feminist struggle, hooks[11] (2000:15) argues that privileged feminists have mostly not spoken for diverse groups of women as they either refuse to acknowledge the importance of, or do not fully understand the interconnectedness of class, race and sex oppression. Thus, feminist theory, without an intersectional analysis, reveals the overriding tendency in Western patriarchal minds to mystify the reality of women by claiming that gender is the only determining factor of a

[11] Gloria Watkins, who goes by the pen name bell hooks, spells her name in lower case letters to emphasise the importance of her writing and her ideas as opposed to her identity (Lee 2019).

woman's destiny (hooks 2000:15). Moreover, to express the inextricable factors of one's lived experience, Lorde (1983) explains her own intersectional identities as she writes:

> Within the lesbian community I am Black, and within the Black community I am a lesbian. Any attack against Black people is a lesbian and gay issue, because I and thousands of other Black women are part of the lesbian community. Any attack against lesbians and gays is a Black issue, because thousands of lesbians and gay men are Black. There is no hierarchy of oppression.

Although the focus of Intersectionality, during its inception, was that of race and gender, Crenshaw (1991:1245), states that other factors, such as sexuality, are often as crucial in shaping experiences and that her emphasis on the intersection of race and gender only underscores the need to account for various grounds of identity when reflecting on the construction of the social world.

Essentially, Intersectionality theory emphasises that our personal, internal interpretations of self, others' interpretations of self, and the types of opportunity, treatment, and access we receive are the "product of multiple and intersecting systems of social classification" (Levon 2015:297). In an attempt to explain the essence of Intersectionality, Hill Collins and Bilge (2016:np) write:

> Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences. The events and conditions of social and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor. They are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways. When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. Intersectionality as an analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and themselves.

Intersectionality has been employed within and across a variety of academic disciplines and its methods of use continue to develop, for example, across women's and gender studies, Intersectionality has taken different forms: as a method of enquiry, a theoretical viewpoint, an approach to social justice, and a methodological tool. However, a commonality among these methods of use is "the capacity for an intersectional perspective to make visible how systems

of inequality function in overlapping ways, thus enabling the possibility of transforming these matrices of power" (NWSA 2012 cited in Warner and Shields 2013:804).

The kind of intersectional analysis used depends on the research questions and the study's aims. One of the differences in the ways that Intersectionality can be applied is according to scope as it could either focus on those with multiple marginalised identities or on a more generalised theory of identity that involve the identity intersections of all individuals. Intersectionality also varies according to its use as a research tool as it can be applied as a framework, or as a theory. As a framework, Intersectionality is a strategy for studying identity, and its purpose is to prompt researchers that studying any particular identity entails analysing the ways in which other identities interrelate with and qualitatively change the experience of that particular identity (Syed 2010 cited in Warner and Shields 2013:804). However, as a theory, Intersectionality should provide detailed explanations about identity and the process of identity development (Warner and Shields 2013: 805). Another way in which Intersectionality can be applied is as an approach to social activism (Warner and Shields 2013:805). Recognising the interaction of various systems of inequality highlights problems of social justice that may be ignored, or instinctively be seen as equal across contrasting intersectional categories (Crenshaw 1991:1299). An example is when race discrimination, for example, is assumed to be the same experience for all black people, or when gender/sexual discrimination is assumed to be the same experience for all women, when these experiences are different for black women. These assumptions often render the experiences of black women invisible and ignore the fact that several forms of discrimination for black women, such as racial, sexual, gendered, social class, etc. are suffered as one, integrated experience rather than as separately. So, while all people of colour are oppressed as people of colour, no movement can claim to speak for all people of colour unless it speaks for people of colour who also face the consequences of sexual/gendered discrimination. Likewise, while all women face discrimination as women, no movement can claim to speak for all women without speaking for women who also face the consequences of racial discrimination – which positions black women unequally in the ranks of the poor and the working class (Smith nd:np). Moreover, recognising different experiences such as economic circumstances, and emphasising the interrelations within and among systems of inequality, such as gender, sexuality, and race, indicates potential collaboration and overlapping political interests across gender-based, sexuality-based, and race-based social movements (Warner and Shields 2013:805).

3.5.1. Three underlying principles of Intersectionality

Levon (2015:297) describes three underlying principles of an intersectional approach. The first is 'lived experience', which entails finding the array of ideologies, influences and categories that underlie any noticeable social phenomenon, for example, when dealing with an issue of homophobia, the aim is to understand how heterosexuality informs this, or when dealing with an issue of racism, the aim is to identify how patriarchy informs this. This drives one to go beyond the analysis of categories in isolation and rather take into account how those categories intersect with others. The second principle, 'dynamism', affirms that intersections are dynamic and develop in particular interactional, social and historical organisations (Levon 2015:297). This drives one to focus on how various ideological expectations, social histories and personal motives create the overlapping of categories of experience in everyday empirical encounters. Consequently, this propels one to adopt a person-centered approach to Intersectionality in order to investigate how individual or institutional practices influence, for example, the racialising and gendering, of certain activities, representations, or individuals. The third principle, 'mutual constitution' maintains that these (dynamic) categories not only intersect but also 'mutually constitute' one another. It is therefore important to acknowledge that constructs such as sexuality, race, and gender significantly rely, for their meaning, on their relationship to the other categories with which they intersect and that intersections are themselves formative of the categories in question. It entails identifying not only how a gendered act, for instance, may also be raced or classed, but how gender as a structure of society is itself essentially expressed in race- or class- based terms (Levon 2015:298).

By combining a focus on marginalised lived experiences with a continual analysis of the ways in which linguistic practices that are associated with one category are used to constitute another category, one can integrate Intersectionality with Sociolinguistics more fully (Levon 2015:301). As such, instead of solely investigating features relating to sexuality, for example, one should also include an examination of features usually associated with other social systems such as race/ethnicity, and of how those features are adopted in the experience and formation of various sexual positionings (Levon 2015:302). Levon (2015:303) ultimately argues that language, gender and sexuality researchers should take race, class and other relevant categories seriously by focusing analysis on the ideological, historical, linguistic and social relationships between these categories and the various lived articulations of gender and sexuality under study.

3.5.2. Addressing criticisms of applying Intersectionality into this study

Some academics have argued that the application of Intersectionality sometimes replicates the approaches it aims to critique, namely: i) it fails to address the fluidity of identity, ii) it does not adequately attend to the social construction of the identity categories themselves and, iii) the act of using categories is itself problematic (Warner and Shields 2013:807).

In view of the above, this study acknowledges that not everyone who is attracted to the same-sex or have same-sex partners identify as gay (Launmann et al. 1994 cited in Warner and Shields 2013:807) and that sexual identity can change depending on various factors, such as social context. (Diamond 2009 cited in Warner and Shields 2013:807). Jae Sevelius' (2012 cited in Warner and Shields 2013:807) sample of transwomen included individuals who identified as transsexual, as female, and with a more flexible expression of gender identity. This study will therefore only gain insight from participants who 'self-identify' as gay men (to mean homosexual males) and will not assume these categories for everyone who share the same or similar characteristics.

Moreover, it is important to recognise the flexible, negotiated characteristics of identity, especially because Intersectionality involves more than one identity (Warner and Shields 2013:807). Thus, by intersecting identity categories, specifically that of linguistic, gendered, sexual, and racial identity, this study will focus on the fluidity and flexibility of identity, as previously discussed, by addressing the active role individuals play in constructing their linguistic, gendered, sexual, and racial identities within specific social contexts. Depending only on stable identities limits analysis and the possibility of resisting mainstream thinking. This study therefore makes use of Queer Linguistics as one of its theoretical lenses as it suggests that identity negotiation and construction is vital in resisting mainstream paradigms of gender and sexuality (Duong 2012:807 cited in Warner and Shields 2013:807).

Lastly, the act of using particular categories, such as race and sexuality, without recognising their social formation may lead to the reinforcement of stereotypical ideas about identity (Robertson and Sgoutes 2012 cited in Warner and Shields 2013:807). One way of addressing this problem is to acknowledge the issues with particular categories even as one uses them (Warner and Shields 2013:807). Crenshaw (1991:1296) states that all categories, even those we view as natural or simply representational, are actually socially constructed. This study therefore admits that the categories or labels used in this thesis have been specified by dominant

members of society and are embedded within a specific socio-cultural and socio-political context and as such, it aims to keep in mind the historical background of racial, linguistic, gender and sexuality- based discrimination and marginalisation. It is also for these reasons that a comprehensive literature review which includes the socio-political background of the two linguistic varieties and its speakers is provided in chapter two of this thesis.

In attending to the critiques of Intersectionality theory and the representation of the socially constructed identity categories that this study deals with, this study acknowledges the contested nature of the terms used. However, as Crenshaw (1991:1297) states, it is important to remember that the process of categorising or naming is not one-sided as marginalised persons can and do partake, every so often even subverting the naming process in an empowering manner, for example, the word "*moffie*" which was previously used as a derogatory label for gay and/or feminine boys and men, has been reclaimed by the gay community and is often used by them in every-day speech to refer to one another. Evidently, there is some degree of agency that individuals can and do exert in the politics of naming, despite the unequal power. It is therefore also important to keep in mind that identity continues to be a site of resistance for members of various marginalised groups (Crenshaw 1991:1297).

This study further acknowledges the heterogenous identities and affiliations people who identify with these terms have. The very nature of this research is constructed in such a way that, for example, 'gay' or 'coloured' is not viewed in a one-dimensional way, but that contestation or rejections of identity categories can also be foregrounded in this research. The research deliberately follows an intersectional approach, so individuals are not viewed as 'only' speaking Gayle or Kaaps. In fact, the research hopes to put a spotlight on the diversity, creativity, and resourcefulness of the linguistic varieties that individuals have access to. In addition, this research encourages discussion around what 'gay' and 'coloured' mean for individuals. As such, there will be no attempt to impose a simplistic meaning of these terms on individuals.

Furthermore, because identity can be understood as a 'performed' construct, the notion of performativity, which will be discussed in the following section, is a useful tool for understanding language and its role in the construction of various, often intersecting, identities.

3.6. Staging language

In recent Sociolinguistic research, the performative nature of language has flourished as a topic of interest and is part of a general shift towards highlighting speaker agency (Bell and Gibson 2011:559). Performance allows researchers to deal with complex and multifaceted data where stylization is prevalent (Bell and Gibson 2011:555). Style is readily associated with a form of presentation in performance that speakers are able to adopt in different degrees in a range of contexts and is an important element in identity construction (Watts and Morrissey 2019:269). Stylisation refers to the "mannered adoption of another's voice", where speakers may highlight particular elements in their speech (Bell and Gibson 2011:560) and where speakers can either converge with or diverge from an audience to index membership of a particular group (Watts and Morrissey 2019:269). Stylisation involves the notion that language involves symbolism of all its usages in previous situations. Stylised utterances project personas from familiar repertoires, pull attention toward itself, bring into play ideological values that are associated with other situations, groups, or times and therefore displace a speaker from the current context. Stylisation needs aptitude and an acculturated audience who understands the references of a projected persona (Coupland 2007: 154). It often involves deliberate exaggeration (Bell and Gibson 2011:560), and strategic positioning in reference to the speech being performed (Watts and Morrissey 2019:269).

Language in performance represents cultural trends and values. It provides an opportunity to theorise about the nature of language in society on the basis of worthwhile and logically stimulating speech which bring to light meaningful dimensions and issues of contemporary society (Bell and Gibson 2011:555). Bell and Gibson (2011:557) classify two types of performance: "staged" and "everyday" performance. Whereas staged performance can be described as the explicit and rehearsed "identification of one or more people to perform", normally on a stage, and which occurs through genres such as a concert, everyday performance occurs when a speaker "steps out into performance mode, often briefly", which is described by Hymes (1981) as a "breakthrough into performance" (cited in Bell and Gibson 2011:557). According to Schuck (2004:195), performance is linked to ideology as speakers perform their ideologies. Ideologies inform a speaker's decisions about what topics should be performed and about the discursive patterns that shape the performance (Schuck 2004:199). An individual's unique contribution to a given text enable propositions to be shaped, expanded, and ultimately accepted as true. The role of the performer together with listener participation is vital for the

interpretation of the speech event as well as the ideological discourse which emerges from it (Schuck 2004:196). Therefore, just like performance plays an important role in the construction of ideologies, ideologies play an important role in the construction of performances (Schuck 2004:199). The framing of talk as performance paves way for a discursive space to construct stereotypes and ideological extremes and for temporarily rendering them acceptable (Schuck 2004:218).

3.6.1. The Sociolinguistics of performance

In explaining the sociolinguistic significance of performance, Bell and Gibson (2011:558) claim that performed language allows speakers to be creative and self-conscious, and focuses on linguistic varieties which are intentionally reproduced, and as media is increasingly entrenched in everyday experience, it appears more and more likely that there are flowing connections between performed and everyday language (Bell and Gibson 2011:559). Performance plays a key role in relating linguistic resources with different characterological figures and leads to the creation of knowledge that a particular stylistic variant functions as an index for particular social meaning.

Bell and Gibson (2011:559) further claim that performance highlights the process of agentive action and intentional representation of language in creating social meaning. In addition, it assumes a semiotic framework of existing, accessible meanings which the performance is enacted within and from which it draws importance. Performers are therefore, in varying degrees, both modernising originals and bearers of customs and traditions - often at the same time (Bell and Gibson 2011:559). The notion of indexicality, which involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:594) is one example of how current acts of meaning rely on the meanings of parallel previous acts. This past-to-present linkage emerges and self-perpetuates (Bell and Gibson 2011:560). An index, which is basically a linguistic form that relies on the interactional context for its meaning (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:594), does not straightforwardly resemble but rather references via connection and co-occurrence (Bell and Gibson 2011:560). During performance, an audience's attention can be drawn to indexical connections which point to or help create social meanings, and which are reinforced or reinterpreted (Bell and Gibson 2011:561). Bucholtz and Hall (2005:594) refer to indexicality as the "mechanism whereby identity is constituted". It is central to the way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity and it deeply depends on ideological structures as relations between identity and language are rooted in cultural morals

and beliefs (ideologies) about the kinds of speakers who produce specific kinds of language (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:594). Identity is constructed via several different indexical processes of labelling, implicature, stance taking, style marking, and code choice (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:598).

Furthermore, identity performance plays a significant role in the enregisterment of styles and related characterological figures (Bell and Gibson 2011:561). Enregisterment refers to "the process by which a style becomes engraved in the public mind as indexing certain social personas or 'characterological figures'" (Bell and Gibson 2011:561). These social personas represent specific sociocultural positioning and morals, and therefore permeate a register with those traits. Different forms of speech become recognised (enregistered) as indexical of speaker characteristics by a group of language users (Agha 2005:38). Johnstone (2010:394) claims that when an indexical connection becomes enregistered, "it has become associated with a style of speech and can be used to evoke a context for that style", for example, a person could make use of a feature that is perceived to be associated with being working-class in order to create rapport with another working-class speaker or to annoy an English teacher. Therefore, the indexicality of the form is creative and can index meaning along a variety of dimensions as the same form can construct solidarity or it can create distinction (Johnstone 2010:394).

Bell and Gibson (2011:561) claim that identity is one of the least specified and most used terms in Sociolinguistic theory, however, in accordance with the emphasis on reciprocity of agency and structure, they describe identity as including both structured and agentive dimensions. It is the effect of the social setting and the constraints which a person experiences and as such, it is in part product. It is also something which is negotiated and created rather than just existing, and in this sense, it is also in part process. Furthermore, identity involves identification to others as well as divergence from them and individuals cannot be characterised as a bundle of fixed, inflexible categories (Bell and Gibson 2011:561). This aligns with Bucholtz and Hall's (2005:598) point that identities are never independent but constantly acquire social meaning in relation to other social actors and other available identity positions, and that identities are relationally constructed through many, often intersecting, features of the relationship between self and other.

3.6.2. Performative acts

The current notion of performativity is owed to the work of one of the most prominent and well-known queer theorists, Butler (1988, 1990, 1993), whose work will be reflected on in this study in order to explore the idea of identity performance. Butler's understanding of performativity can be traced back to Searle's (cited in Butler 1988:519) illocutionary speech acts - verbal assurances which appear to both refer to a communicative relationship, and to establish a moral connection between speakers. These speech acts are understood to actually do something rather than merely represent something and as such, "a performative is that discursive practice that enacts or produces that which it names" (Butler 1993:13). Additionally, the phenomenological theory of acts, adopted by, among others, Husserl, Merleau-Ponty and Mead (cited in Butler 1988:519), aims to describe the ordinary way in which social agents constitute social reality through gesture, language, and all means of symbolic social sign.

Interested mainly in the performance of gender, Butler (1990:140) draws on feminist notions of gender as a crucial aspect of the self and regards gender as something flexible, that is established and constantly (re)constructed. In no way can gender be understood as a fixed identity or locus of agency from which a variety of acts proceed (1988:519; 1990:140). Instead, gender is "an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylised repetition of acts*" (Butler 1990: 140). Butler (1990:140) explains how the performance of gender can be understood as an act of identity:

> As in other ritual social dramas, the action of gender requires a performance that is *repeated*. This repetition is at once a re-enactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; and it is the mundane and ritualized form of their legitimation.

Furthermore, Butler claims that socially prearranged gender performances of men and women with the goal of obeying heteronormativity, construct gender identity (Butler 1990:33). Butler focusses on the idea of gender performativity as a strategy of resistance and provides examples such as the parodic recurrence of gender customs which can be seen in the sexual stylisation of masculine or feminine identities as well as in the cultural activities of cross-dressing and drag (Butler 1990:137). According to Butler (1993:2), performativity can be understood as the "reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains".

3.6.3. Language as a product of performative acts

The notion of performativity is important when thinking in non-essentialist terms about gender, sexuality, and identity. Pennycook (2014) adopts this conception in his work on rethinking the notion of language as commonly formulated in linguistics. Understanding how individuals constitute identities via the performance of "acts of identity" and the idea of identity being constructed through iteration provides the ground for Pennycook's (2004:14) claim that language can be viewed as a product of performative acts. The notion of performativity unlocks many ways of understanding language and identity, languages as entities, and language as part of transmodal performance (Pennycook 2004:7). Furthermore, Butler's work on gender and identity implies that gender is "always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to preexist the deed" (Butler 1990:25), and instead of performativity being understood as the expression of a prior identity, it can be understood as a way of performing acts of identity as a continuous chain of cultural and social performances (Pennycook 2004:8). Butler's theory of performativity allows one to think about the connection between language and identity in a way that highlights the constructive influence of language in creating identity rather than viewing identity as a pre-determined construct that is merely reflected through language (Pennycook 2004:13). Thus, "whereas Sociolinguistics traditionally assumes that people talk the way they do because of who they (already) are, the postmodernist approach suggests that people are who they because of (among other things) the way they talk" (Cameron 1997:49 cited in Pennycook 2004:13).

Butler's notion of performativity paves the way for alternative understandings of language as it allows for the re-consideration of languages, language use, and identity from an anti-foundationalist perspective and proposes novel approaches of understanding how individuals are interpellated into being (Pennycook 2004:8). It also allows one to connect the idea of the performative to performance studies, which originated in theatre but have expanded to a broader concept of performance such as music, dance, etc., and as a result, to achieve a unified understanding of the body as interconnected with other semiotic and social practices (Pennycook 2004: 16). However, care should be taken not to suggest that language is simply a site of identity performance. Although it is useful to view language and identity as interconnected acts, one should avoid implying a view that proposes that they are acts individuals can freely and easily choose (Pennycook 2004:16), as in deciding to be a woman today and deciding to be a man tomorrow. Rather, this process of identity performance occurs

within a "highly rigid regulatory frame" (Butler 1990:33) whereby one can understand performativity in the sense that we often perform unconsciously, and therefore do not always have complete freedom of choice when performing (Pennycook 2004:8). Identity acts can be performed in any of the linguistic resources that participants use. The concept linguistic repertoire has been used to theorise linguistic resources and will be discussed in the following section.

3.7. The linguistic repertoire

In current Sociolinguistic research, the notion of the linguistic repertoire is attracting renewed attention. This study will often make use of this term when referring to individuals' ways of communicating/speaking and will therefore use Busch's (2017:346) conceptualisation of the linguistic repertoire.

As a Sociolinguistic concept, the notion of the linguistic repertoire, initially labelled as "verbal repertoire", can be traced back to the work of Gumperz (1964) as he developed this concept on the basis of his research in two agricultural villages. This concept is rooted in an interactional paradigm as the background for Gumperz's (1964:137) analysis is the speech community, which is described in non-essentialist terms as a community that is created through frequent communication over a significant period of time. According to Gumperz (1964:137), the linguistic repertoire "contains all the accepted ways of formulating messages. It provides the weapons of everyday communication. Speakers choose amongst this arsenal in accordance with the meanings they wish to convey". From this perspective, the repertoire is understood as a whole, which is comprised of those languages, codes, dialects, registers, routines, and styles that shape communication on a daily basis and which speakers draw from as the situation demands (Busch 2017:344). Gumperz (1964:138) claims that all communication must follow the grammatical conventions of the "verbal repertoire" but it is constantly explained and understood in compliance with the social conventions. Individual speakers can make choices regarding the use of linguistic resources. However, this freedom of choice is subject to grammatical and social constraints as communicative conventions that are generally normalised and accepted are learned and internalised, and "becomes a part of our linguistic equipment" (Gumperz 1964:138). According to Busch (2017:344), this notion moves away from the assumption that specific ways of communicating marks membership of specific social and/or regional groups. Even though the linguistic repertoire is not random, and is internalised, it is viewed as essentially 'open' for individuals to use as a means to position themselves in situated

interactions. Gumperz (1964: 148) further emphasises that speech styles are not always a marker of the exact social relationships to which they are connected. As such, speech styles indexically represent social categories, but speakers can also use it as a way of shifting beyond restraining and normative categorisations (Busch 2012:504).

Busch (2016:6) elaborates on the traditional notion of the linguistic repertoire by drawing on poststructuralism and phenomenology in order to understand how the linguistic repertoire is influenced by ideology or discourse, which is manifested into "lived language experience". Moreover, language ideologies and debates about linguistic normativity, language and language use, appropriateness, etc., turn into viewpoints of ourselves and others as interlocutors, represented in language practices that confirm, challenge, or transform rules, norms and categorisations. This transition into embodied attitudes and expressions presumes that language is not just viewed as a "conventionalized, sedimented system of signifiers", but "primarily as an intersubjective bodily-emotional gesture which relates the experiencing/speaking subject to the other and to the world" (Busch 2016:7). Although it is difficult to observe language experience from an outside perspective, it can be unpacked through biographical first-person narratives, for example, such narratives often reference feelings of shame that arise from becoming conscious of making a 'mistake', or using the 'wrong' accent when speaking. From a phenomenological perspective, shame is viewed as a bodily experience which can be described as a move of withdrawal from the world and which can cause one to fall silent. The 'mistake', from a discourse point of view, is not a personal flaw, but a violation of a discursively set convention that can become internalised through such experiences. Lived language experience therefore plays an important role in understanding the experiencing speaker and their relation to the rest of the world (Busch 2016:7).

From this point of view, the linguistic repertoire cannot merely be viewed as a "toolbox or a reservoir of competences" (Busch 2016:7). Although it is concerned with the present, it also refers to the future and the past. It draws on a wide variety of previous voices, codes, and discourses, and as such, a contingent space of both restrictions and potentialities which include fears, desires, imaginations, and anticipations, is created. With all situated linguistic interactions, not only does one position oneself in relation to what is clearly present, but also implicitly in relation to what is absent. What is absent, such as "relevant others, other spaces and times by which we orientate ourselves or which demand our loyalty" resonates or functions in the background and is thus also present (Busch 2016:7).

According to Busch (2016:7), biographical approaches based on the idea of the linguistic repertoire and on language experience are significant for multilingualism research as they enable one to embrace a concept which is explained best in Bakhtin's (1981) concept of heteroglossia, where linguistic diversity is recognised as an array of discourses in relation to which we position ourselves, as voices which are appropriated as styles, and as language varieties which reflect socio-cultural spaces (Todorov 1984:56 cited in Busch 2016:7). This view allows one to see the starting point of enquiry not as a single language, but as a "dialog of languages" or as a "highly specific unity of 'languages' that have established contact and mutual recognition with each other" (Bakhtin 1981:294-295 cited in Busch 2016:7). In addition to the biographical approach, Blommaert (2010:102) proposes an ethnographic approach as the actual linguistic, semiotic and communicative resources that people have, can also theoretically inform us about the notion of the linguistic repertoire. Furthermore, Blommaert (2010:23) states that "we never know all of a language; we always know specific bits and pieces of it", and this includes our mother tongue as well the languages we encounter and learn in our lifetime. As such, instead of assuming the existence of fixed repertoires, we should consider the diversity of resources in modern multilingual communities as 'truncated multilingualism' (Blommaert 2010:23) or as repertoires which comprises "specialised but partially-developed and unevenly-developed resources" (Bristowe, Oostendorp, and Anthonissen 2014:230). The "truncated repertoires" are grounded in the life stories of individuals and in the broader histories of the locations where they were created and developed (Blommaert 2010:23).

Of significance in present elaborations of the notion of the linguistic repertoire is the shift beyond the realm of speech community, which is accomplished by adopting a biographical viewpoint that links the repertoire more to a person's life trajectory, or by adopting a spatial viewpoint that places emphasis on "encounters in linguistically high diverse settings" (Busch 2017:345). This idea is elaborated on by Blommaert (2009:424) who argues that "someone's linguistic repertoire reflects a life, and not just birth, and it is a life that is lived in a real sociocultural, historical, and political space". Blommaert (2009:425) further claims that sociolinguistic life is structured as "*mobile speech*", rather than as static language and that lives can be more fully studied based on repertoires set against a real spatial and historical backdrop. This understanding of the linguistic repertoire includes the concept of space and emphasises the need for speakers to adjust and expand their repertoires to find common ground with another. Therefore, instead of uncovering an apparently stable geographical space, repertoires tell us about the sociopolitical changes that reform the space and how these changes impact the

repertoire. Moreover, it connects the linguistic repertoires that are formed through individuals' lives to the available and accessible linguistic resources in specific spaces (Busch 2017:345). Thus, Sociolinguistic repertoires "index full histories of people and of places" (Blommaert 2009:416).

In light of the above, Busch (2017: 346) suggests an approach in which the third person perspective is complemented by a first-person perspective based on biographical narratives, and argues that the observation-based interactional approach is not adequate enough to fully capture the complexity of the linguistic repertoire used by individuals to position themselves in relation to their social environment. Adopting Busch's (2017:346) conceptualisation of the linguistic repertoire means viewing it from a poststructuralist perspective and, as such, understanding the speaker as a subject shaped in and through language and discourse, and understanding the repertoire as created, arranged, and used in intersubjective processes situated on the border between the self and the other. Accordingly, the notion of the linguistic repertoire is expanded to not only include the dimension of linguistic ideologies but also that of the lived experience of language (Busch 2017:346).

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed overview of the theoretical sociolinguistic framework in which this study is grounded. The following chapter will move on to a discussion of the research methodology that was utilised in this study.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

The following chapter will outline the research instruments used in this study, participant recruitment and the ethical considerations of this study. It will also provide an overview of the analytical methods used in this study.

4.1. Research design and data collection

This study made use of qualitative methods to data collection and data analysis. To recap, the research questions addressed in this study are:

1) What are the linguistic repertoires of coloured gay men?
2) Which ways of speaking are used by coloured gay men to construct identity, and how do they use them to do so?
3) What are the affective dimensions that shape the interactions and perceptions towards and around the linguistic repertoires of coloured gay men?
4) Which identities are foregrounded in particular contexts and which ways of speaking are chosen to foreground these identities?

4.1.1. Data collection instruments

The following section provides an overview of the data collection instruments used in this study, such as the background questionnaires, the language portraits, and the interviews.

4.1.1.1. Background questionnaires

A background questionnaire, as shown in appendix C, was provided to participants before the one-on-one interviews took place. The aim of this was to establish participant information such as age, gender, sexuality, race, and highest level of education, in order to get an idea of who and what participants identify as and to avoid imposing my own labels and definitions to these categories.

4.1.1.2. Using the body silhouette: A multimodal biographic approach

Fully understanding the linguistic repertoire of a community or an individual is an empirical challenge that cannot be resolved only through observing group interactions. Instead, the language ideologies and metalinguistic interpretations of speakers must be considered. This can

be achieved through interviews and group discussions that approach the notion of the repertoire from a subject viewpoint (Busch 2012:510). An approach which has proved particular useful is that of language portraits, a research instrument "in which participants visualise their linguistic repertoire using the outline of a body silhouette" (Busch 2018: 2). As such, this study takes a qualitative approach by asking coloured, gay, male speakers of Gayle and/or Kaaps to graphically represent their linguistic repertoires using a language portrait silhouette provided by heteroglossia.net (Busch 2018), which is shown in appendix D.

To provide some contextualisation, work with language portraits can be traced back to studies on language awareness in primary school education (Neumann 1991: Krumm and Jenkins 2001 cited in Busch 2012:510), where school learners received a body silhouette and were told to paint all of their languages on it and were instructed to use a different colour for each language. The teachers were instructed to use this activity as a chance for the learners to speak about their country of origin or to compare the German language with their native language (Krumm and Jenkins 2001:5-6 cited in Busch 2012:510). According to Busch (2012:511), although a national multiculturalist positioning was, in a sense, given from the beginning, the activity also produced expressions of opinions and emotions that were linked to language and language use.

Furthermore, Busch's (2012:511) research also makes use of language portraits to demonstrate what this approach has to offer in terms of exploring linguistic repertoires, however, it is based on methodological assumptions which steers away from referring to languages as "national categories or bounded entities". Leaning on Busch's (2012:19) multimodal approach, which stresses that a repertoire evolves from linguistic interaction and is experienced on both a cognitive and an emotional level, Bristowe et al's (2014:229) research also uses language portraits as the main data collection tool to demonstrate how the notion of 'repertoire', rather than that of 'language', is a useful tool for analysing how a group of speakers use their linguistic resources to construct multiple identities in diverse environments.

With this multimodal approach, participants are instructed to reflect on "their linguistic repertoire, the codes, languages, the means of expression and communication that play a role in their lives" (Busch 2012:511). Busch (2012:511) leaves it up to participants to decide what is considered a 'code' or a 'language', how various linguistic resources are connected, and to describe categories as they view it, and this often causes representations such as "language of repression", "secret language", "language of joy", and so on. As such, not only are conventional languages represented, but also other ways of categorising communication and speech (Busch

2012:511). In line with Busch's (2012; 2016) description of the language portrait as a multimodal biographic approach, in this study, participants were instructed to reflect on the ways of speaking that play a role in their lives, whether they speak it, understand it, or aspire to speak or understand it. They were then instructed to colour in the empty body silhouette with each colour representing a way of speaking. The ways of speaking and colours used to depict it represented their feelings toward and their use of the ways of speaking displayed on their language portrait. The nine language portraits that were completed by participants can be found in appendix F.

Furthermore, in line with the aims of language portraits as explained by Busch (2016:8), the language portraits elicited narratives surrounding, among other things, speakers' attitudes, language history, language practices and functions, and language ideologies, and functioned as point of reference in the narrative. According to Busch (2016:8), these references to the picture structure the narrative in a way that is different from enquiries regarding the individual's language biography. The language portrait is also viewed as a method of meaning making in its own right, which ensues new interpretation other than the verbal mode and thus, the language portrait cannot be interpreted without the narrative. Selection, analysis, and evaluation occur in the visual mode as much as in the verbal mode, and representation and reconstruction do not take place in isolation from social discourses (Busch 2012:511). In view of this, the language portrait, as a multimodal method, provides two groups of data- a visual one and a narrative one- that allow inferences to be made regarding how speakers interpret their linguistic repertoire.

Like any biographical representation, the language portrait cannot be viewed as an illustration of the repertoire "as it is" but as a construction that resembles particular interactional situations (Busch 2016:8). Both modes enable meaning making and "one is neither the translation nor simply the illustration of the other" (Busch 2012:518). Busch (2012:518) claim that the visual mode entails its own interpretive tool as meaning making is constituted by pictorial elements such as colours, areas, lines, etc. While narrations are structured in a sequential manner, the visual mode turns one's vision toward the whole, and toward the connectedness of the various parts. Even though the verbal mode promotes diachronic continuity and synchronic reason, consistency, overlappings, fractures, ambiguities, and contradiction can remain unresolved in the visual mode (Breckner 2007 cited in Busch 2012:518). As such, sometimes interpretations of the two modes together can be parallel and sometimes they can contradict one another. This will be taken into account when analysing the data of this study by avoiding analysis of the

language portraits in isolation of the interviews, and by not only relying on the interviews for insight.

According to Busch (2012:521), this empirical method enables submission of discursively constructed categories that dictate the language experience of speakers to a "deconstructive" analysis. With this resourceful multimodal method, which is based on visual and narrative reports, "the change in mode to one of thinking in pictures contributes to foregrounding the emotional experience of language, power relations and desire" (Busch 2012:521). Even though biographic approaches depend on individual reports, it does not principally focus on the distinctiveness and exclusivity of the specific life story as such, but on what its perceived singularity uncovers about particular aspects of language ideologies and practices that are overlooked when selecting an assumed "average" speaker as representative for a specific group. This kind of research can promote awareness of language ideologies and power relations that mark particular linguistic categories as inadequate and flawed, and of the possible transformative power of linguistic resources and strategies speakers can depend on. Considering the speakers' viewpoint creates a perspective that "understands linguistic diversity in the Bakhtinian sense as heteroglossia, as an entanglement of multiple discourses, voices and languages" (Busch 2016:9).

4.1.1.3. Qualitative interviews

Once the language portraits were completed, personal open-ended interviews were conducted whereby questions were primarily based on what has been represented in the language portrait that were completed by participants. An interview guide consisting of a list of possible questions was drawn up and was used during the interview process, which can be seen in appendix E. The direction of conversations was nonetheless mostly controlled by participants. The time taken for interviews ranged between 30 minutes to an hour. An hour of their time was requested for the interviews, however, if participants thought that they have nothing left to say or if they wanted to continue after an hour has gone by, they were allowed to do so. Each interview was recorded, transcribed, and repeatedly read for analysis.

Although this study uses the interview as a tool to collect data, it views the interview as "a fundamentally social encounter" (Talmy 2010:131). This means that the interview becomes a situation whereby reportable knowledge is produced. By foregrounding the respondent as the subject, the interviewee changes from a "passive vessel of answers" to an individual who "not

only holds facts and details of experience, but, in the very process of offering them up for response, constructively adds to, takes away from, and transforms the facts and details" (Holstein and Gubrium 2003:68 cited in Talmy 2010:131). As such, this study views the interview as "active" as it is interested in both the product of the interview as well as the process involved in the construction of meaning (Talmy 2010:131).

According to Mann (2011:9), interviews are locations of social interaction, where details, ideas, attitudes, facts, and narratives are collectively produced by both interviewer and interviewee. The process of interviews aligns with this view as the information produced in this study is understood as explanations and interpretations of phenomena that is collaboratively created by the interviewer and interviewee. Instead of concentrating solely on interview content (the "what" of the data), focus is also placed on the linguistic and/or interactional resources used in co-creating content and locally attaining the interview as speech event (the "how" of the data). Together, "these features constitute a communicable cartography of the interview as participation in social practice(s)—the "(partially) routine activities through which people carry out (partially) shared goals based on (partially) shared (conscious or unconscious) knowledge of the various roles or positions people can fill [or do] in these activities" (Gee, 2004:33 cited in Tamlyn 2010: 140).

Furthermore, Mann (2011:17) claims that an interview constructs its own interactional context, where every response is formed by the prior response and thus, responses are always produced in cooperation with the interviewer. In discussing the importance of the interactional context in the constructing of meaning, Mann (2011:17) further argues that data extracts from interview transcriptions should always be described in the context in which they occurred. With that said, although the extracts chosen are not initially presented in a way that shows a linear conversation between the interviewer and interviewee, the analysis of this study includes contextual background of interview responses, such as what topic is being discussed or what question is being answered. This is especially the case with those responses which make particular reference to respondents' language portraits, when they are asked to explain something in particular, and where there is a clear need to indicate that what the respondent says during the interview is contextually shaped. Considering both the "whats" and the "hows" allow for a more comprehensive understanding of how the themes presented in the analysis are interactionally occasioned (Mann 2011:18).

Moreover, the aims of the one-on-one interviews in this study was to get an idea of which linguistic repertoires are known and in use, to elicit speakers' knowledge of Gayle and Kaaps, opinions and reasons for using it, and feelings associated with it. This was done by organising the linguistic repertoire in both a pictorial-presentational and linguistic-discursive (Busch 2018:6) and the idea was to elicit biographical narratives that presented a subjective perspective of the speaker.

Participants were given the option to decide where the interviews took place and as such, most were completed in informal spaces such as participants' homes, outdoor parks, coffee shops, etc. The idea was that participants feel relaxed and comfortable. English was the main language spoken throughout the interviews, but there were some instances where participants would use a few Kaaps or Gayle words or expressions in their responses. These instances were always taken into account and if I did not understand it, participants would be asked to explain it further in order to prevent assumptions and impositions.

4.1.2. Participant recruitment

To find participants for this study, a networking approach was used whereby initial verbal enquiries have been made prior to the data collection process to find out whether or not friends and acquaintances would be willing to take part in the research and all those who were asked verbally indicated willingness to participate and to share their knowledge. Friends and acquaintances were also asked to inform other potential participants about this study and as such, participants contacted me and expressed willingness to participate in the study. The research pool consisted of nine participants, who are between the ages of eighteen and thirty, self-identify as coloured, gay, and male, and know about or speaks Gayle, Kaaps and/or both to a certain degree.

Below is a table that captures the information gathered from the background questionnaires. All the names listed in the table are pseudonyms that were given to participants to anonymise their identity. These are also the names that are used in the data analysis chapter of this study.

Name	Age	Gender	Sexuality	Race	Highest level of education
Ashwin	24	Male	Gay	Coloured	Matric
Brent	20	Male	Gay	Coloured	Matric
Chad	28	Male	Gay	Coloured	Undergraduate degree
Devin	22	Male	Gay	Coloured	Matric
Ernie	19	Male	Gay	Coloured	Matric
Fabian	24	Male	Gay	Coloured	Undergraduate degree
Gino	23	Male	Gay	Coloured	Matric
Haden	27	Male	Gay	Coloured	Matric
Ivano	24	Male	Gay	Coloured	Undergraduate degree

Table 1: Participant information

4.1.3. Ethical considerations

As mentioned before, all participants of this study are adults who self-identify as members of the coloured gay community in South Africa. I, as a coloured female researcher, not only self-identify as a member of the coloured community but also as an ally to the coloured gay community as I hold close friendships and stand in solidarity with members of the community. As such, I am fully aware of the contested nature of the terms and the heterogeneous identities and affiliations people who do identify as coloured have. One of the aims of this research was therefore to highlight the diversity, creativity and resourcefulness of the linguistic varieties that the participants have access to and encourage discussion around what these terms mean for participants.

As part of the ethical considerations of this study, a consent form , as shown in appendix B, was distributed before the interviews took place and was used to explain the purpose and social value of my study. The aim was to ensure that participants were aware that the study is voluntary and that responses will be anonymised. The consent form also served to ensure that participants were aware that when the data is reported, their identity will be protected and maintained as pseudonyms will be used for all participants. It also served to ensure that they were aware that they may withdraw at any time without any consequence and/or refuse to answer any questions they do not want to and still remain in the study.

4.2. Data analysis

This next section provides an overview of the analytical methods used in this study. Firstly, it discusses Thematic Analysis, a widely used qualitative method of analysis, and how and why this method is beneficial for organising the data based on emerging patterns within.Secondly, it provides a brief overview of Discourse Analysis and some of its analytical tools, with the aim of explaining how it is used to gain insight into speakers' construction of their social realities, and how it is used to analyse speakers' ideologies and perceptions toward and around their linguistic repertoires.

4.2.1. Thematic Analysis

Thematic Analysis can be described as the process of "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke 2006:79) or, in other words, a process of encoding qualitative information (Boyatzis 1998:4) which recognises an interesting and relevant feature in the data, and which is the most basic element of the raw data that can be examined (Boyatzis 1998:63). Later in the process of Thematic Analysis, themes are also developed from encoding, and this is what denotes something significant about the data with regard to the research question(s), and what symbolises some level of patterned response or meaning within the data (Braun and Clarke 2006:82). According to Boyatzis (1998:4), "a theme may be identified at the manifest level (directly observable in the data) or at the latent level (underlying the phenomenon)". The themes can be inductively produced at the start of the process, from raw information, or it can be deductively produced from prior research and/or theory (Boyatzis 1998:4). Determining themes also depend on the judgement of the researcher as the level of significance of a theme does not necessarily rely on quantifiable measures but also on whether and how it encapsulates something important and relevant with regards to the overall research questions (Braun and Clarke 2006:82).Thematic Analysis is often

misconceptualised as a single qualitative analytic approach, however, Braun, Clarke, Hayfield and Terry (2018:2) claim that it is better viewed as an "umbrella term, designating sometimes quite different approaches aimed at identifying patterns… across qualitative data sets". According to Boyatzis (1998:vi) Thematic Analysis is not a separate method like grounded theory or ethnography but a technique that should be used to assist researchers in the search for insight. Braun and Clarke (2006:78) further argue that Thematic Analysis should be viewed as a foundational method for qualitative analysis and that it provides important skills that are useful for many other forms of qualitative analyses.

4.2.1.1. Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step approach for Thematic Analysis

The phases in Thematic Analysis are not unique, as phases of other qualitative research are similar to that of Thematic Analysis. The process involves continual back-and-forth between the data set as a whole, the coded extracts, and the analysis of the data (Braun and Clarke 2006:86). The six-step approach, as explained by Braun and Clarke (2006) which is discussed below, is considered the "most influential approach, in the social sciences at least" as it provides a well-defined and practical framework to carry out a Thematic Analysis (Maguire and Delahunt 2017:3353). It is the approach that has been used in the organisation of the data analysis for this study.

The first step of Thematic Analysis is to familiarise oneself with the data, which requires the researcher to be fully immersed in the data, and which entails active, repeated reading, and jotting down notes and early impressions. It is also during this step that transcription of verbal data occurs (Braun and Clarke 2006:87), which could be viewed not only as a systematic act of placing spoken words on paper, but as an "interpretive act" whereby meanings are created and developed (Lapadat and Lindsay 1999 cited in Braun and Clarke 2006:88).

The second step involves producing initial codes, which detects an aspect of the data that seem meaningful or interesting to the researcher (Braun and Clarke 2006:88), and which reduces large data into small chunks of meaning (Maguire and Delahunt 2017:3355). Boyatzis (1998:63) defines a code as the most basic segment of the raw data which can be examined meaningfully in relation to the topics under study. To some degree, the coding process depends on whether the themes are "data-driven" or "theory-driven" (Braun and Clarke 2006:88). With regards to the former, themes rely on the data whereas with the latter, the data can be approached with particular questions in mind that one may want to code around. Although the latter

approach was taken in this study, all aspects of the data was considered. Moreover, it may also depend on whether the aim is to code to identify specific, and sometimes limited, features of the data set or whether the aim is to code the content of the whole data set (Braun and Clarke 2006:89). Again, in this study, the whole data set was assessed in the process of coding.

The third step begins after the process of coding and is considered the start of the interpretive analysis of these codes. It involves organising the various codes into possible themes and arranging the relevant codes within the identified themes, which involves analysis of codes and consideration of how various codes can be combined to create a principle theme. In this step, one also starts thinking about the connection between codes, between themes, and between the different levels of themes, for example a main theme and a sub theme (Braun and Clarke 2006:89). This step ends with a compilation of candidate themes and sub themes, and all of the extracts of data that have been coded to fit under these themes (Braun and Clarke 2006:90).

Step four involves the refinement of the candidate themes, and includes deciding whether to separate, discard, or combine initial themes. This depends on the data itself, for example, whether or not it supports the themes, whether it is too diverse, whether two themes can be formed as one, or whether one theme needs to be broken down into separate themes. That said, while data within themes should be meaningful and cohesive, themes should be clearly distinguishable and, as such, the themes must be studied according to the coded extracts and subsequently in relation to the overall data (Braun and Clarke 2006:91). At the end of this step, one should have a relatively good idea of what the different themes are and how they link together to tell a story about the data (Braun and Clarke 2006:92).

Step five entails further defining and refining of the themes in preparation for analytical presentation with the aim of identifying the “essence” of what each theme means and what the themes overall imply, as well as uncovering what aspect of the data each theme represents Theme names that are concise and that provide a sense of what the theme is about, as well as definitions of themes should also be worked out for the final analysis during this step (Braun and Clarke 2006:92).

Finally, the sixth step involves final analysis and producing the report which should convey the results of the analysis and convince the reader of the merit and validity thereof. The analysis should therefore be supported with empirical evidence and the analytic narrative thereof should

not only provide a description of the data but should make an argument which ties in with the research questions (Braun and Clarke 2006:93).

After transcribing and familiarising myself with all the language portrait and interview data, I have been able to identify a variety of codes that guided me in addressing my research questions. I have grouped certain codes together according to recurring patterns surrounding my research questions. The grouping of codes was derived from all of the interview data within the context of participants language portraits. In an attempt to explain the process of generating codes within the data as simply as possible, I have divided the grouping of codes firstly according to the themes as a whole and then the grouping of codes which make up the subthemes of each theme as a whole. This is because it is the combination of the codes making up the subthemes that made up the main themes that the subthemes fit under. Each theme consisted of subthemes, except for theme 5.4.

The grouping of codes making up theme 5.1 and subtheme 5.1.1 consist of: “academics”, “standard English and proper English”, “smart”, “successful”, “successfulness”, “educated, “professional”, “intelligent”, and “reserved”. The grouping of codes making up theme 5.1 and subtheme 5.1.2 consist of: “surrounded by Afrikaans”, “standard Afrikaans”, “proper Afrikaans”, “*egte* Afrikaans”, “don’t speak it often”, and “don’t use Afrikaans that much”. The grouping of codes making up theme 5.1 and subtheme 5.1.3 consist of: “white people”, “whiteness”, “oppressed”, “exclude”, “wasn’t really important”, and “forget”. The grouping of codes making up theme 5.1 and subtheme 5.1.4 consist of: “difficult”, “anxious”, “keep quiet”, “struggle”, “stutter”, “get stuck”, and “scared”.

The grouping of codes making up theme 5.2 and subtheme 5.2.1 consist of: “passionate colour”, “blood”, “live”, “entire body”, “pumping”, “colour of strength”, “bold”, “pride”, ‘chest part”, “naturally” “norm”, “heart”, “authenticity”, “feminine”, and “femininity”. The grouping of codes making up theme 5.2 and subtheme 5.2.2 consist of: “comfortable”, “be who I want to”, “who I am”, “belonging”, “community”, “part of my heritage”, “like myself”, “inherent to me”, “extra”, “colour outside of the lines”, “flamboyant”, “feminine”, and “expressive”. The grouping of codes making up theme 5.2 and subtheme 5.2.3 consist of: “oppressed”, “*moffie*”, “low socioeconomic status”, “accepting”, “acceptance”, “reclaim our power”, “resistance”, “hardship”, “struggle”, “strife”, and “honour”.

The grouping of codes making up theme 5.3 and subtheme 5.3.1 consist of: “not one hundred percent comfortable”, “can’t make peace with it”, “internalised homophobia”, “battle”, “problem”, “degrading”, “sshh”, “taboo”, “looked down upon”, “threatened”, and “cautious”. The grouping of codes making up theme 5.3 and subtheme 5.3.2 consist of: “bad rep”, “gangsterism”, “gang”, “drugs”, “uneducated”, “negative connotation”, “bad thing”, “look down on”, “*vuil moffie*”, “gangster language”, and “stupid”.

Lastly, the grouping of codes making up theme 5.4 consists of: “want to learn”, “want to acquire”, “learn and speak”, “beautiful” “pathway”, “help someone”, “still room left to grow”, “inclusive”, “accommodate”, “adjust”, and “basic understanding”.

In following the steps of searching for, defining, reviewing and naming themes, four main themes have been identified in the data, three of which consist of subthemes. The themes and subthemes gathered from the data are structured (not according to importance but according to the ways of speaking that make up participants repertoires) as follows:

5.1) English and Afrikaans as part of coloured gay men’s linguistic repertoires
- 5.1.1) English as an indicator of success and professionalism
- 5.1.2) Afrikaans as unimportant but pure and proper
- 5.1.3) Influences of the sociopolitical history of Afrikaans on coloured gay men’s linguistic repertoires
- 5.1.4) Anxieties and fear of judgement around English and Afrikaans

5.2) Kaaps and Gayle as part of coloured gay men’s linguistic repertoires
- 5.2.1) The representation of race and sexuality on participants’ language portraits
- 5.2.2) Identity construction and positive feelings associated with the use of Kaaps and Gayle
- 5.2.3) Kaaps and Gayle as indicators of surviving struggle, hardship, and oppression

5.3) Masking identities
- 5.3.1) Gay identity
- 5.3.2) Coloured identity

5.4) Languages of desire

The first main theme was derived from a combination of the groups of codes making up the subthemes that fit under theme 5.1. This theme as a whole captures the feelings and attitudes toward English and Afrikaans as well as the ideologies, functions, history, and the use of English and Afrikaans as part of participants linguistic repertoires. The second theme was derived from a combination of the grouping of codes making up the subthemes that fit under theme 5.2. This theme as a whole captures the explanations the representations of Kaaps and Gayle on participants language portraits, the intersections of these ways of speaking regarding the construction of identity, and recurring patterns of similarity between the functions of Kaaps and Gayle and what these ways of speaking stand for and mean to participants. The third theme was derived from a combination of codes making up the subthemes that fit under theme 5.3. This theme as a whole also captures the intersections of Kaaps and Gayle, as well as the negative ideologies and associations participants have with these ways of speaking and how it influences when and how they construct their sexual, gendered and racial identities. The fourth and last theme was derived from the grouping of codes surrounding desire and is the only theme that do not have subthemes. It captures how desire also forms part of participants' linguistic repertoires as it focusses on recurring patterns surrounding their desire to learn, or improve their proficiency in African languages, especially isiXhosa, and in new European languages, other than English.

4.2.1.2. Advantages of and potential drawbacks to avoid when doing a Thematic Analysis

According to Braun and Clarke (2006:94), Thematic Analysis is not a complex method of qualitative analysis as it does not require very meticulous technical and theoretical knowledge. Even when one is still in the process of learning qualitative techniques, it is fairly easy to conduct a reliable Thematic Analysis on qualitative data as there are few prescriptions and procedures, and therefore it is accessible and easily grasped (Braun and Clarke 2006:94). It is also suited for small and very large data sets. Furthermore, because of its theoretical neutrality, it offers a flexible approach that can be adapted to suit the needs of many studies, while still presenting a rich and detailed, yet complex interpretation of data (Nowell, Norris, White, and Moules 2017:2).

Additionally, it can be used within various theoretical frameworks and for different purposes within these theoretical frameworks. That said, any theoretical framework carries with it several assumptions about the nature of the data and what it represents with regards to "reality" and a

good Thematic Analysis makes this clear (Braun and Clarke 2006:81). Moreover, Thematic Analysis is useful for emphasising differences and similarities within data, producing unexpected insights, and investigating the perspectives of different research participants. It requires the researcher to take a well thought out approach to managing data which aids in producing a clear and organised final report, and therefore it is practical for summarising the main aspects of large datasets (Nowell et al 2017:2).

Although there are many advantages to using Thematic Analysis as an analytical tool, there are also potential drawbacks that will be acknowledged here in hope that they are avoided in this study. Pavlenko (2007:166) claims that a weakness of Thematic Analysis is that it lacks a theoretical premise which may result in an unclear understanding of where conceptual categories come from and how they are connected. However, because Thematic Analysis can be used within various theoretical frameworks (Braun and Clarke 2006:81), the theoretical framework discussed in chapter 3 and the analytical methods discussed in this chapter, including Thematic Analysis, will work together as an interpretive framework for this study and, as such, Thematic Analysis will be applied within a theoretical framework which will allow for the linking of the themes to particular theoretical concepts. This aligns with Pavlenko's (2007:167) suggestion that researchers need to view thematisation as a preliminary analytical step and should not mistake it for actual analysis. Researchers should therefore adopt a theoretical framework that will allow for clarification of the nature of conceptual categories and for clear identification of the links between recurrent themes and conceptual constructs.

Pavlenko (2007:166) further claims that an overreliance on repeated references may cause analysts to ignore or miss significant themes that do not appear repeatedly or that do not fit pre-established schemes. Nonetheless, Braun and Clarke (2006:82) explicitly state that more instances do not necessarily suggest that the theme itself is more important, and further state that a specific pattern may occur several times in some instances and little to no times in others, or it may occur in a small part of the data set. Thus, as mentioned before, determining themes also depend on the judgement of the researcher as the level of significance of a theme does not necessarily rely on quantifiable measures but also on whether and how it encapsulates something important and relevant with regards to the overall research questions (Braun and Clarke 2006:82). Pavlenko (2007:167) also points out that a lack of attention to how participants use language to explain experiences and position themselves as specific kinds of people is very problematic. However, this is exactly what this study aims to address as it reflects on a variety

of linguistic theoretical concepts to understand how and why individuals use particular linguistic resources to construct particular identities and considers how they make use of language to convey their viewpoints.

Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2006:94) also alert the analyst to potential pitfalls of carrying out a Thematic Analysis. Firstly, analysts should be aware that Thematic Analysis is neither a combination of extracts with no analytic narrative nor a combination of extracts with analytic narrative that merely paraphrases their content. Instead, the extracts should be used to support or demonstrate an analysis and to make sense of the data. A second potential pitfall is the use of data collection questions as reported themes, because in these cases, no analytic work is carried out to identify themes across the data or to understand the patterning of responses. A weak, implausible analysis is a third potential pitfall. This occurs when themes overlap too much, when they do not seem to work, and when all features of a theme do not "cohere around a central concept" (Braun and Clarke 2006:94). Fourthly, incompatibility between the data and the claims made about it should be avoided by ensuring that interpretations correspond with the data extracts and by selecting powerful examples to illustrate the themes. Fifth is an incompatibility between research questions and the form of Thematic Analysis, or between analytic claims and theory, which can be avoided by ensuring that interpretations of the data match the theoretical framework. Finally, researchers should not fail to provide crucial information with regards to Thematic Analysis, which includes an in-depth explanation of (i) how it was conducted, (ii) for what purposes, and (iii) its theoretical assumptions (Braun and Clarke 2006:95).

As will be seen in the analysis of this study, all extracts are chosen and used to demonstrated particular points with the goal of addressing specific research questions and as such, the analysis of combinations of extracts correspond neatly with interpretations, especially because participants are treated as co-constructers of these interpretations. Furthermore, to avoid themes not being logically organised around a main idea, a lot of thought has been put into what data should be used based on relevance, how themes should be divided, and how the data making up each theme surrounds a key idea. As a result, themes identified in this study have been divided into four main themes, three of which consist of subthemes. Although some overlapping does occur between the themes, the data and interpretations making up each theme "cohere around a central idea or concept" (Braun and Clarke 2006:94) and is clear enough to be understood as a theme on its own. Furthermore, each theme was linked to particular

sociolinguistic theoretical concepts and as such, it can be argued that the analytical methods used to organise and interpret the data has not proven incongruent with the theoretical premise on which this study is structured. Pavlenko's (2007:167) emphasis on taking into account how participants use language to explain experiences and position themselves has also been considered as this study not only utilises a variety of sociolinguistic theoretical concepts to understand how and why particular linguistic resources are used to construct identity, but also takes a biographical approach (discussed in 4.4.1 of this chapter), and makes use of discourse analytical tools and concepts (discussed in the following section) to consider how language is used to convey specific opinions regarding the ideas which make up themes.

4.2.2. Discourse Analysis

Discourse Analysis can be described as the study of language in use, which involves saying, doing, and being (Gee 2014:31). Various linguistic approaches to Discourse Analysis make use of various theories of grammar and adopts various perspectives about how to talk about meaning. While leaning on Gee's (2014:8) approach, which views meaning as an integration of ways of saying (informing), doing (action), and being (identity), and which views grammar as a set of tools to establish this integration, this study will also use van Dijk's (1991, 1993,1995, 1998) toolkit to demonstrate how Gee's (2014) building tasks, discussed below, is discursively constructed in the data. These two approaches to Discourse Analysis were selected for this study as they complement each other in the sense that Gee's theory provides explicit steps that an analyst can follow to explore the different discursive activities that are visible in the interview responses, and van Dijk's analytical toolkit provides an extensive overview of the discursive structures and strategies that participants used in their interview responses. While Gee's approach provides insight into the different ways in which language is used to (re)construct reality, van Dijk's approach provides deeper insight into the ideologies that underlie our discursive choices.

4.2.2.1. Gee's (2014) seven building tasks of language in use

As speakers, we continually and actively use language to construct and reconstruct our worlds, or as Gee (2014b:32) states, to construct "seven areas of reality". Gee (2014b:32) describes the seven building tasks of language in use and states that we often construct more than one of these simultaneously through the same words. The *Significance* building task refers to how we use language to construct or downplay what is considered important. What we mention first, what

we repeat often, what we discuss in detail, and what we decide to put in a main clause is foregrounded information and what we decide to put in a subordinate clause is backgrounded information. As such, foregrounded information is focused on in the present and is viewed as the most significant information in the present (Gee 2014b:99). However, this alone does not make the information significant as other linguistic elements can also be added to render something significant. The focus should therefore be on how language is being used to render particular things significant or not (Gee 2014a:100).

The second building task, *Practices*, refers to using language to get recognised as engaging in a specific kind of practice, which typically involves sequencing or combining actions in particular ways that are normed by a specific culture, institution or a socially recognizable group. Practices are larger sociocultural endeavors and therefore, analysis should focus on what practice(s) the language is enacting and what practice(s) the speaker is attempting to get others to recognise as being achieved (Gee 2014a:104).

Furthermore, the *Identities* building task deals with how speakers use language to enact or construct a specific socially recognizable identity or role in the present. Speakers enact different identities in different contexts or enact multiple identities at the same time, and speakers have to speak and act in a way that makes them recognised as having the "right", or "appropriate" identity (Gee 2014a:112). The analyst should thus focus on what socially recognizable identity the speaker is enacting or trying to get others to recognise, what identity the language is attributing to others, and how this helps the speaker to enact their own identity (2014b:34).

In addition, the *Relationships* building task refers to how we use language to signal the kind of relationship we have, or want to have with our readers, listeners, or other people, institutions, or groups about whom we are communicating (Gee 2014b:34). This building task is linked to *Identities* as the identity we construct for ourselves in any context is frequently expressed by how we view and interpret our relationships with other individuals, institutions, cultures, or social groups. Understanding how relationships with others, whether present or not, are discursively constructed or sustained is therefore of importance when unpacking this building task (Gee 2014a:120).

Politics, the fifth building task, focuses on how language is used to express opinions on what counts as social goods and how social goods are distributed or withheld., According to Gee (2014a:126), this is where and how language is "political". Here, politics do not refer to

"government and political parties" but to "anything a social group takes as a good worth having" (Gee 2014a:124). Social goods are possibly at risk whenever we speak or write in a way that implies that something or someone is "normal", "acceptable", or the opposite, and these social goods are what give people status and power in a society. Emphasis should therefore be placed on what is communicated as to what is perceived as "right", "appropriate", "normal", "important", etc. (Gee 2014b:35).

Moreover, the *Connections* building task refers to how language is used to render specific things relevant and connected to other things (or not) in many different ways (Gee 2014a:96). Speakers frequently have to construct relevance or connections as it is not always the case where things are inherently relevant or connected to each other, and although they appear inherently relevant or connected to each other, speakers are able to use language to downplay or break such connections. Unpacking this building task involves identifying the discursive construction of connecting or disconnecting things, making things relevant or irrelevant to another, or ignoring relevance and connections between things (Gee 2014a:132).

Finally, the building task *Sign Systems and Knowledge* involves the use of language to favour or denigrate specific sign systems (ways of speaking) and particular forms of knowledge and belief (Gee 2014b:35). Speakers discursively construct privilege or prestige for one sign system or way of knowing over another and this building task is related to the *Politics* building task as the use, maintenance and mastery of languages, dialects, sign systems, and ways of knowing, are social goods for those who "own" them. Using language to construct privilege for one sign system over another therefore involves engaging in politics because "the mastery, use, and maintenance of languages, dialects, sign systems, and ways of knowing the world are, for the people who "own" them, social goods". Focus should therefore be placed on how speakers use language to privilege or deprivilege particular sign systems or different ways of knowing and believing or claims to knowledge and belief (Gee 2014a:142).

4.2.2.2. Van Dijk's (1991, 1993, 1995, 1998) analytical toolkit

Ideologies are usually conveyed and reproduced in discourse and communication. The performance and reproduction of ideologies are often entrenched in institutional and structural contexts, the media, and in many forms of discrimination, and according to van Dijk (1995b:17) discourse plays a significant role as the "preferential site for the explicit, verbal formulation and the persuasive communication of ideological propositions".

The analysis of lexical items is identified by van Dijk (1998:31) as the best known kind of analysis in research focusing on language and ideology. Here, particular discursive structures and strategies that a speaker chooses to use as several content words like verbs and nouns have clear evaluative dimensions are emphasised. Words that commonly or contextually express norms or values are chosen by a speaker. As such, a speaker's ideological stance determines the selection of lexical items (van Dijk 1998:31), as well as the ways in which these lexical items are modified and combined in clauses (Mongie 2013:138). According to van Dijk (1998:32), there are different levels of analysis with regards to the modification of individual lexical items. One way to analyse the modification of these is to examine how lexical items are modified by adjectives, for example "bad", "disgusting", etc. and adverbs, for example "dishonestly", "bravely", etc. One can also analyse how lexical items are structured into sentences and given thematic roles (van Dijk 1998:32). With regards to the assigning of thematic roles, out-group members are usually placed in the agent role, that is, the one who performs the action if the action is negatively assessed, and vice versa (van Dijk 1995a:261). Here, active and passive sentences are also an implicit strategy used to attribute different degrees of agency to others. This strategy is based on the assumption that people are considered (more) responsible for actions if they appear in the agent role (van Dijk 1998:33).

Furthermore, analysis may also include examining how clauses or sentences are modified by necessity modalities, for example, "They were obliged to…" (van Dijk 1998:32). The use of these contains implied opinions and function to reduce the amount of responsibility that is assigned to the agent (van Dijk 1998:32), and it is strategic and aims to create a desired model of understanding that favors the interest of the speaker (Mongie 2013:139). The strategy of polarisation, which refers to negative outgroup depiction and positive ingroup depiction, has the following abstract evaluative structure, which van Dijk (1998:33) calls the "ideological square", i) highlight our good actions, ii) highlight their bad actions, iii) mitigate our bad actions, iv) mitigate their good actions.

In addition to the above discussed explicit expressions in phrases, ideologically based attitudes and opinions are sometimes implied semantically by other explicit expressions and the meanings thereof (van Dijk 1995a:268). Implicature refers to the opinions that are implied or suggested by the speaker, but which are not explicitly stated. The reconstruction of implied meaning entails culturally shared knowledge of language meanings, or more generally, it entails shared knowledge, which includes specific knowledge about the knowledge of the speaker (van

Dijk 1995a:268). According to van Dijk (1991:114), implicature, as a feature of discourse and communication, has significant ideological dimensions as an analysis of the unsaid is at times more informative than an analysis of what is actually stated.

Furthermore, a well-known case of implication, whereby the truth of a phrase is recognised and thus not affirmed by the utterance, is defined by van Dijk (1995a:273) as presupposition. As explained by van Dijk (1995:273), "any proposition whose truth is accepted by the speaker in order to be able to make an utterance, but which is not asserted by the utterance, is a presupposition of the utterance". It enables speakers to take certain opinions for granted and to make claims without stating them (van Dijk 1995a:273). It is therefore more persuasive than implicature and is more challenging to negate or disregard (Mongie 2013:140). In looser terms, presuppositions are simply the set of implicit cultural knowledge that makes discourse meaningful. However, linguistically, presuppositions are generally limited to the "non-asserted true propositions" which are indicated by structural units such as definite articles or "that" clauses or by the meaning of particular words like "even" (van Dijk 1995a:273).

Moreover, in addition to the strategies above, which all comprise intended meaning, analysing sequences of phrases uncovers that the "ideological square" of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation operates on a wider level and determines, among other things, what is considered relevant, important, and what is made prominent in the discourse as a whole. The degree to which information is considered important or relevant to the speaker's in-group will determine the prominence that the information is given in discourse (van Dijk 1998:35; van Dijk 1995a: 262). Additionally, what is relevant and important information to the speaker's in-group will be deliberated more wholly and in more detail, and it will be given more volume in discourse (van Dijk 1998:35;60). This foregrounds the information and marks it as relevant and important to the listener and, as such, this manipulation of what seems relevant and important influences the way in which the listener understands what is being discussed (van Dijk 1991:115; van Dijk 1995b :26). The implementation of the above discussed strategies all depend on the semantic "coherence" of the discourse, which refers to how progressive sentences or expressions are sequenced to create a unity and hang together, and as such, do not develop an arbitrary or uninformed set of sentences (van Dijk 1998:36). To achieve "local coherence" and for discourse to be meaningful, the ideologies and viewpoints expressed should be consistent in order for the listener to construct a pattern of meaning of that which is being communicated (van Dijk 1991:112). While there are meaning relations between subsequent

phrases, discourse also has overall semantic unity (van Dijk 1991:113). According to van Dijk (1991:113), "global coherence" is defined by what is subconsciously known as themes or topics and its function is to summarise and specify the most important information. As such, topicalisation may also be subject to ideological control. In-group speakers may topicalise information that highlights negative outgroup actions and on the contrary, detopicalise information that is inconsistent with their positive self-image, and own interests (van Dijk 1995b:27).

Furthermore, rhetorical structures are also potential sites for the expression of viewpoints and attitudes (van Dijk 1995b:29). According to McQuarrie and Mick (1996:430-431), frequently used rhetorical structures include: (i) metaphor, in which substitution uses underlying resemblance as a basis, (ii) hyperbole, in which a claim is exaggerated, (iii) alliteration, where there is repetition of consonants at the beginning of words, (iv) puns, wherein accidental similarity is used as the basis for substitution, (v) rhyme, where the end of words contain repetition of syllables, (vi) rhetorical questions, in which an assertion is made via a question, and (vii) repetition, where something that has been before said is repeated. van Dijk (1993:278) explains that the chief functions of many rhetorical structures are to mitigate or overstate specific information, and to highlight what has already been conveyed.

As discussed above, the two discourse analytical toolkits were used together as the structures and strategies outlined in van Dijk's toolkit help the analyst to explore the ways in which interview participants discursively construct the building tasks discussed in Gee's theory.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the research design, the data collection instruments, and the analytical methods used in this data. The following chapter will provide an in-depth analysis of the data produced in this study.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

This chapter focusses on the analysis of the language portraits and interviews of the participants that took part in this study. This study presented four main research questions to be answered through an analysis of the data, which will make use of the theoretical concepts and framework, discussed in the chapters 2 and 3, and the analytical methods discussed in chapter 4, as a guideline to understanding the data.

Through a Thematic Analysis and a Discourse Analysis, I was able to organise my data by identifying and exploring a variety of codes and recurring patterns within the data that were displayed as important and prevalent. I was also able to structure and develop themes and subthemes that consist of data which could be analysed through a sociolinguistic framework.

5.1. English and Afrikaans[12] as part of coloured gay men's linguistic repertoires

English and Afrikaans are the only ways of speaking that are included in each of the language portraits and as such, these ways of speaking form a part of participants' linguistic repertoires. In terms of participants' identities, the language portraits along with the interviews indicate that English and Afrikaans plays very different roles in participants' everyday lives. Whereas English can be viewed as a dominant way of speaking that carries great value in participants' academic and professional lives, Afrikaans is perceived as unimportant, yet unavoidable due to the fact that it is part of their surroundings. Although participants often mentioned that the fact that they were "raised" and "taught" in English is one of the reasons for it being a major part of their lives and of who they are, their emphasis and in-detail discussions of English as a major contributor to being perceived as professional and successful is what stood out in these interviews. Afrikaans, on the other hand, is often highlighted as a way of speaking that is "pure" and "proper" but that is not used often. The data suggests that this is because of participants' awareness of the oppressive history of Afrikaans, and because of their belief that it is a language spoken by white people. It is also, therefore, as the data suggests, not considered as a representation of any part of participants' identities.

[12] Unless otherwise stated, Afrikaans in this analysis refers specifically to standard Afrikaans and not Afrikaans in all its iterations (for example, not Oranjerivier Afrikaans, or Kaapse Afrikaans).

5.1.1. English as an indicator of success and professionalism

Participants often represented English on the head of the body silhouette to indicate that they think in English and highlighted the fact that it plays an important role in either their academic or professional life. The following extracts indicate that many participants considered it an important way of speaking due to it being necessary for success:

1) **Brent**: "…my brain is in blue for formal English because that also comes into play with my academics, when it comes to academics, I just communicate in English…"
2) **Devin**: "…society is now into this whole universal thing of standard English and proper English where you must speak a certain way and have a certain accent…"
3) **Devin**: "…we need to be this whole academic person, speak very fluently… sound smart, sound educated, and have this accent so… that would be my number one because I want to be successful one day and normally with successfulness uhm, this whole academic thing goes hand-in-hand"
4) **Fabian**: "…English would uh portray myself as an accountant and analytical thinker and speaker…"
5) **Haden**: "…at work we practically just have white people that come into our store and… when I do speak to them, I speak to them proper English"
6) **Ivano**: "when I speak English, I feel professional… I feel a sense of survival with English…"

Here, participants talk about how they use language to fulfill particular *practices*. According to Gee (2014a:104), because practices are larger sociocultural endeavors, focusing on what practice(s) the language is enacting and what practice(s) the speaker is attempting to get others to recognise as being achieved, is important. As such, English in this case is used to enact professionalism and successfulness, such as speaking 'fluently' or 'properly'. Moreover, the pattern of professionalism and successfulness is highlighted in the data only when participants speak about English. In (1), Brent's use of the adverb "just" highlights the fact that English is the only language he uses for academic purposes. Devin echoes this viewpoint in (3), arguing that English would be his "number one because [he] want[s] to be successful" and because [he] need[s] to be this whole academic person", "speak very fluently", "sound smart" and "sound educated". Here, Devin implies that academic people should be able to speak English fluently. Additionally, in (5), Haden's statement makes the *connection* (constructing things as relevant or connected to each other) (Gee 2014a:96) between "work", "white people" and "proper

English", implying that i) proper English is spoken by white people and that ii) when he is not at work, his use of English is not proper. Fabian's statement in (4) also makes the *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between English and his professional identity "as an accountant and analytical thinker and speaker". The *identities* (using particular forms of language to get recognised as taking on a particular identity or role) (Gee 2014a:112) that participants are foregrounding when speaking about English are their professional identities, which they assert entails being able to speak English fluently. Ivano's statement in (6) further highlights the opinion that English plays a key role in being professional, where the alliterative noun phrase "sense of survival" implies that without English, one cannot survive as a professional.

Furthermore, the data indicated that English is often perceived by participants as a tool to reject the image of being or sounding unintelligent, uneducated, incapable, and incompetent, especially in situations where their education or career depends on it. The following extracts are examples from the data that indicate this:

7) **Brent**: "…if you speak English, it means you are smart, it means you are educated, it means that you are capable of doing the job, it means you're intelligent, even though that's not always the case but people normally link it to that in society…"
8) **Devin**: "You feel like you are just the gyal (girl)… you feel superior… you also feel important…"
9) **Ernie**: "…I just always feel like it's giving me a big head…I'm like mm I'm a smart boy I know what I'm saying… I feel competent when I speak English"
10) **Fabian**: "Ok so uhm this purple represents a reserved uhm sense of communication uhm especially with family uhm that's why I have the purple queerness and reserved as conflicting lines so uhm being reserved I don't don't ex:::press[13] myself in Gayle, more standard English"

In (7), Brent's repetition of the verb phrase "it means" emphasises what English means for the image that participants want to create when speaking it. According to van Dijk (1998:31), a speaker's ideological stance determines the choice of their lexical items. As such, the adjectives "smart", "educated", "capable", "intelligent", "superior", and "important" are indicative of the

[13] Specific transcription conventions were used when transcribing the data to indicate particular actions. In this analysis, the use of (i) ::: indicate a stretched sound, like a prolonged vowel or consonant, (ii) ( ) indicate an entry of a roughly translated word or phrase, (iii) underlining denotes emphasis (iv) CAPITALS denotes a raise in volume like shouting or louder words/phrases, and (v) (.) indicate a micropause.

positive traits that are believed to be associated with those who speak English. The idiomatic expression "big head", used by Ernie in (9), further suggests that speaking English allows participants to represent themselves as individuals with these positive traits and in turn, this allows them to feel "smart", "educated", "capable", etc. Furthermore, Fabian's statement in (10) refers to the lines that he drew to represent conflict between "queerness" which is represented by Gayle and being "reserved" which is represented by English, as shown below in figure 1 (and in appendix F). He states: "being reserved, I don't ex:::press myself in Gayle, more standard English", which implies that if he were to express himself in Gayle, he would be seen as not "reserved".

Figure 1: Fabian's language portrait

Moreover, Haden included "proper English" on his portrait (see appendix F), which represented a professional identity. However, he also included "English with a bit of gay sass" and when asked to explain this representation, he stated: "English but with like a reserved… that's me being a bit more cautious". This suggests that the latter representation is perceived by Haden as 'not' being reserved and that he is expressing his gay identity but in a more "reserved" manner. This depiction along with the statements mentioned above, imply that participants' use of Kaaps and Gayle, which displays their identities linked to race and sexuality, means 'not' being reserved. This pattern of English being used to foreground an identity with perceived positive characteristics indicate that there are instances where participants intentionally use English as a means to veil other parts of their identity, such as their race and sexuality, as is discussed in theme 5.3. Busch (2012:519) argues that "dealing with categories is always a matter of

hierarchies, opposites, and conflicts" (Busch 2012: 519). Busch (2012) provides an example of a language portrait which represents two languages that depict conflicting mutually exclusive national identities of a man who describes himself "as a subject constituted in the field of tension between his two languages and their constant co-presence" (Busch 2012: 515). The way in which the man views these two languages as causing conflict within him as separate languages due to its social categorisations is similar to the way in which Fabian in (10) views and represents English and Gayle (figure 1, and appendix F) as separate ways of speaking causing conflict within him. This is indicated by the "conflicting lines" and him wanting to be perceived as "reserved" rather than as 'not' reserved. These conflicts that Busch (2012:519) talks about are thus evident in participants' linguistic choices as they shape what they decide to foreground in an attempt to resist or, in this case, conform to these categories.

This is further evidence of how speakers can make decisions about the use of linguistic resources but as Gumperz (1964:138) argues, this freedom of choice is subject to grammatical and social constraints as communicative conventions that are normalised and accepted are learned and internalised. Here, the communicative conventions of English as a professional and "reserved" way of speaking, and Gayle and Kaaps as unprofessional and 'not' reserved ways of speaking is learned and internalised. To participants, English, as a *sign system* (way of speaking) (Gee 2014a:142), represents a different view of knowledge and belief compared to Kaaps and Gayle as participants privilege the use of English over Kaaps and Gayle when acting professionally or in a reserved manner. Busch (2012:520) argues that "speakers participate in varying spaces of communication", and that each space has its own "language regime". This includes its own language ideologies and rules in which linguistic resources are evaluated differently. Participants' intentional use of English in an attempt to foreground an identity associated with positive characteristics, as mentioned above, is evidence of Busch's (2012:520) claim that speakers position themselves in relation to the rules that apply in spaces of communication either by willingly submitting to them, as is the case here, or by violating them. Language ideologies therefore clearly form part of participants' linguistic repertoires and here, the language ideologies associated with English clearly shape when participants choose to use English instead of other ways of speaking. This is further evident as there is no mention in the data of participants feeling "smart", "educated", "professional", etc., when using Kaaps and Gayle, or of participants using Kaaps and Gayle in an attempt to sound "smart", "educated", "professional", etc.

From the above data, identity is viewed as a performed construct as participants' identities as professionals depend on the context in which they are constructed (Deckert and Vickers 2011:10), which involves participants' ideas of success and its linkage to sounding intelligent or educated. Cameron and Kulick (2003:138) argue that speakers use language in an attempt to represent themselves as specific kinds of people and the data indicates that participants are using English at times to represent themselves as professionals who are intelligent and educated. As such, participants' emphasis on representing themselves as professional individuals through the use of English means that they are repeating processes of enregisterment, as explained by Agha (2005:38), where the use of English is enregistered as indexical of sounding intelligent, educated and professional. Williams (2012) focusses on the notion of enregisterment in his paper about the performance of a rap genre, *braggadocio* (bragging), and how it paves the way for the deregisterment of English. This deregisterment is an act against the lack of recognition of the importance of multilingual repertoires of current-day Cape Town. Williams (2012:58) writes about the ways in which English has historically been enregistered as the language of rap and freestyling and demonstrates how the rap artists in his study creatively use English as a language of inclusion, and also deliberately use Kaaps to deregister English in an attempt to take away the position of English as the language of rap and freestyling. Just like in William's study, the reason participants in this study have these opinions about English is because of processes and practices of enregisterment, as English, in this case, is enregistered as the language of professionalism and success. Here, however, instead of deregistering, participants do not subvert this view but willingly submit to it by using English to represent themselves as "smart", "educated" and "professional" individuals. As such, they do not challenge or reject the position of English as a professional language but accept it as a norm.

These reasons for participants' decisions to use English can be traced back to how coloured identity and Kaaps are associated with stereotypes that construct coloured individuals as incompetent and uneducated (Willemse 2016:75), which is the opposite of how English makes them feel. The racial identity positions of the participants are malleable (Ramjattan 2019:729) as they adopt so-called white linguistic practices in an attempt to lessen the stigma of their own racialised position in situations that involve being perceived as "smart" and "educated". These linguistic choices highlight the raciolinguistic ideologies, which, as mentioned previously, links racialised bodies to imagined linguistic deficiencies (Rosa and Flores 2015:150), by suggesting that improving one's race requires the borrowing of white linguistic behaviours.

The reason for participants' decisions to use English can also be linked to one of Alim and Smitherman's (2012:20) arguments of how Barack Obama's white mainstream ways of speaking played a very important role in him being elected as president. Alim and Smitherman (2012:20) claim that along with using ways of speaking that was familiarly black, he also used ways of speaking that were familiarly white, and that this allowed white Americans to feel comfortable with him as it did not "alienate" them (Alim 2012:21). Alim and Smitherman (2012:21) found that Obama's style of speaking was viewed as "transcending blackness" as many described him as "exceptionally articulate", making (unintentional) racist links between "articulateness", "whiteness" and "intelligence". Although many respondents in Alim's and Smitherman's (2012:21) research highlighted that white mainstream ways of speaking English are problematically associated with "the language of politics" and "the language of success", it was also found that many respondents, across racial lines, held Obama's use of English in high esteem. This is reflective of the ideologies surrounding English in this study as participants view the so-called "proper" use of English as necessary to represent themselves as professional and successful individuals. Haden's statement in (6), where he makes the *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between "work", "white people" and "proper English" also clearly indicates that the "proper" English that participants are actually referring to is the English spoken by white people, and although participants are aware of this, this kind of English is nonetheless held in high esteem.

5.1.2. Afrikaans as unimportant, but pure and proper

As revealed above, participants' ideas surrounding professionalism and success are key reasons for English being a part of their linguistic repertoires and for dedicating a significant amount of space to English on their language portraits, signaling importance. This is, however, not the case for participants' views of Afrikaans. The general consensus that emerged from the data, as seen in the extracts below, is that Afrikaans is not a way of speaking that is often used by participants. Instead, it is mostly spoken by family members of participants and forms part of their surroundings, and therefore, it has an unavoidable place on their language portraits and inevitably forms part of their linguistic repertoires. Moreover, it is only spoken when necessary for communication and understanding with others who speak it.

11) **Ashwin**: "…I don't use Afrikaans that much so that is why it's blue… it's more neutral…"

12) **Brent**: "…my ears are in green which represents Afrikaans because I'm surrounded by Afrikaans like my mom's side of the family… I'll speak to them in English but they'll still reply to me in Afrikaans…"
13) **Gino**: "…It's just like when I'm in a space with someone that's standard Afrikaans then I would… engage in like standard Afrikaans but I feel like when whenever I am myself, with my friends and stuff, we always speak in Afrikaaps…"
14) **Haden**: "So I can speak Afrikaans, proper Afrikaans I can speak because of my family, my dad's side they from the *plaas* (farm) so they can speak Afrikaans like *egte* (pure) Afrikaans"
15) **Haden**: "…that is like just a part of me, because my dad them are like that, right, and that I can't get rid of, that will always be in me because half of my family is Afrikaans speaking"
16) **Ivano**: "….the light brown being the *suiwer* (pure) Afrikaans is a more dialed down version of the Kaapse Afrikaans, it's more subdued, because I don't speak it often and it's almost like it fades in the background because it's not really a M:::AJOR part of my life…"

Ashwin's, Brent's, Gino's, and Ivano's references to the colours that they have used to represent Afrikaans indicates the pattern of it being used rarely and of it being of little importance. Here, participants are making the *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between not speaking Afrikaans often and it not being important. It is also important to note that Brent expressed very specific reasons for using specific colours to represent the ways of speaking on his language portraits, but when it came to Afrikaans, he stated: "I don't really have any particular reason why I put Afrikaans in green(.)" which also signals a lack of importance (see figure 2 below).

Figure 2: Brent's language portrait

Furthermore, in (13), Gino states that he uses Afrikaans to communicate with someone who is Afrikaans speaking but highlights that "whenever [he] is [him]self", he uses "Afrikaaps", which presupposes that when he is speaking Afrikaans, he is not himself. In (16), Ivano echoes this sentiment as he states that "Afrikaans is a more dialed down version of the Kaapse Afrikaans" which suggests that he is not being himself when using Afrikaans. The use of the declarative phrase "it's not really a M:::AJOR part of my life" indicates that even though it is part of his linguistic repertoire, it does not play an important role in his life, where the emphasis of the adjective "M:::AJOR" serves as a comparison, implying that unlike Afrikaans, "Kaapse Afrikaans" is a "M:::AJOR" part of his life. This comparison is further evident as he explains his reason for using brown to represent Kaaps and light brown to represent Afrikaans, further suggesting that it refers to him not being himself. The fact that Afrikaans is mostly used by participants to communicate with those who are Afrikaans speaking, highlights this idea of the linguistic repertoire being 'open' for participants to use and as such, to adapt their repertoires for mutual understanding and to position themselves in situated interactions (Busch 2017:344).

Furthermore, although there is major emphasis on the different extents to which English and Afrikaans form part of their linguistic repertoires, in the extracts above, the idea of "pure" and "proper" Afrikaans is highlighted, as is the case with English. Haden's use of the adjectives "proper" and "*egte*" (real) in (14) implies that the Afrikaans spoken by his family on the "*plaas*" (farm) is the correct and real way of speaking Afrikaans. Haden notes that he is able to speak "proper" Afrikaans but foregrounds the fact that it is only because of his family. Although the words "proper" and "*egte*" (real) are considered to have positive connotations involving standardisation, Haden's statement in (15), which explains that Afrikaans is a part of him because "[his] dad them are like that" and that "[he] can't get rid of [it]" implies that Afrikaans is not a part of his linguistic repertoire by choice and that he has no positive emotional attachment to it. Ivano also uses the adjective "*suiwer*" (pure) in (16) to refer to standard Afrikaans and refers to it as "professional" and something that is "necessary for…school".

The use of English and Afrikaans and participants' association of it to success and professionalism reflects what Rosa and Flores (2015:150) calls raciolinguistic ideologies, as these opinions reflected in the extracts are indicative of how participants, as racialised speakers, keep the idea of "proper" and "fluent" English and of "*egte*" (real), "*suiwer*" (pure), and "proper" Afrikaans alive in their own linguistic practices (Ramjattan 2019:729). This points to how power relations and language ideologies categorise specific linguistic practices as flawed,

how the repertoire develops by experiencing language in interaction emotionally and cognitively, how it is "inscribed into corporal memory and embodied as linguistic habitus", and how it "includes traces of hegemonic discourse" (Busch 2012:521). Participants' responses thus indicate how these discourses are expressed in categorisations of "proper", "fluent", "*egte*" (real), and "*suiwer*" (pure), which are reflective of inclusive and exclusive language ideologies. These words point to the ideological and interactional constraints for participants' articulation (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:605) as they are fixed on the belief that this kind of English and Afrikaans means success and professionalism. As explained by Cooper (2018:32), language ideologies that are linked to a standard language entail the belief that reputable, good quality languages, should remain "pure" from contamination by those languages which are spoken by people of colour and who are from the lower-class population.

5.1.3. Influences of the oppressive history of Afrikaans on coloured gay men's linguistic repertoires

The words used by participants to describe standard Afrikaans all clearly have positive evaluative dimensions in the sense that it is perceived as 'pure' and 'correct', however, at the same time, unlike with English, participants highlight the fact that this is not something important to them and not something that they often make use of. While English is described as a means of constructing a professional identity, the extracts below suggest that Afrikaans is in no way considered representative of an identity. Some participants also mentioned that Afrikaans is more associated with white people and highlighted its oppressive history. This aligns with Mashazi and Oostendorp's (In Press) research which investigates the linguistic repertoires and lived experiences of linguistically marginalised students of colour at Stellenbosch University. This study found that English was often viewed as useful and inclusive and that in order to feel a sense of belonging to the university, they only needed access to English (Mashazi and Oostendorp In Press:14). With Afrikaans, on the other hand, Mashazi and Oostendorp's (In Press:17) study found that Afrikaans is associated with white people and is still viewed today as a tool used to oppress others. The following are examples of the opinions and attitudes toward Afrikaans that particularly stood out in the data, and that align with Mashazi and Oostendorp's (In Press:17) finding:

17) **Devin**: "…you didn't want to be associated with that whiteness or with that Afrikaansness or that Englishness because they oppressed you during that time, so you rather want to create something that was for you and for your group of people…"

18) **Devin**: "…Afrikaans for me I would associate more with white people…"
19) **Devin**: "…Afrikaans wasn't really important to me even if I had to like forget Afrikaans, I would be okay with it…"
20) **Fabian**: "…we all know Afrikaans was a language uhm used to exclude black people, it's a language mostly spoken by white people which was used, was a sense of superiority…"
21) **Gino**: "…you get a lot of people that speak like Afrikaa:::ns… which I am not comfortable with because that is not me…"
22) **Haden**: "Afrikaans words is difficult; I don't know how to say it or use a word in Afrikaans to describe how I feel (.) especially being a gay person like there's no Afrikaans way of saying I feel amazing or fabulous"

Historically, as we know, Afrikaans has predominantly served to mark white racial superiority, operated as a symbol of Apartheid (van Heerden 2016:31), and was a political attempt at racial and cultural hegemony (van der Waal 2012:150). This has created a site for "othering" and in colonial contexts like South Africa, the "othering" has invariably been racialised (Stroud and Williams 2017:168). Thus, considering the sociopolitical history of Afrikaans, it is not surprising that many responses indicate the racialisation of Afrikaans as it is one dynamic in the construction of non-white people as inferior. Many of the phrases in the above extracts reflect the idea of negative outgroup depiction as explained by van Dijk (1991;1995;1991), where the outgroup here are "white people". In (17), (18) and (20), Devin and Fabian explicitly make the *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between Afrikaans and white people in their statements. In (20), Fabian describes Afrikaans as a language "used to exclude black people". Devin's repetition in (17) and (18) of not wanting to be "associated" with "white Afrikaans" and "whiteness" implies a need to be seen as different to white Afrikaans speaking people, as he explains his reason for learning Gayle. The word "create" also implies that not speaking Afrikaans was intentional and was an attempt to be seen as different. He explains: "they oppressed you during that time, so you rather want to create something that was for you and for your group of people". Here, Devin's use of the pronoun "they" refers to the outgroup, and his use of the prepositional phrase "for you and for your people" refers to the ingroup. It is clear that these words and phrases are used to construct *significance* (Gee 2014b:99) by highlighting the bad actions of the outgroup (van Dijk 1998:33), as seen in the verbs "oppressed" and "exclude".

The extracts above further reveal that participants have little to no emotional attachment to Afrikaans, that it is considered unimportant, and that it does not represent any part of their identity. In (21), Gino states that he is not "comfortable" when speaking Afrikaans because "it is not [him], which implies that Afrikaans is not expressive of who he is. In (22), Haden, who initially stated that he can speak "proper" Afrikaans, later states: "I don't know how to say it or use a word in Afrikaans to describe how I feel (.) especially being a gay person like there's no Afrikaans way of saying I feel amazing or fabulous". Here, the exclamatory verb phrase "especially being a gay person" implies that Afrikaans is not expressive of his sexual identity. Devin's statement in (19) reflects the insignificance of Afrikaans in his life, where the word "even" presupposes a sense of meaninglessness of the language. The extracts above suggest that the pattern of Afrikaans as not representative of identity is due to many participants seeing it as a "white" language that is reflective of "whiteness" and therefore do not want to be "associated" with it. This ideology is given a lot of volume and are consistent in the discussions about Afrikaans and can clearly be identified as foregrounded information, pointing to its *significance* (Gee 2014b:99).

Looking at this from an intersectional and raciolinguistic perspective, it is clear that participants' racial and sexual identities play a key role in their decision to construct themselves as different from those who speak standard Afrikaans. According to Fought (2011:244), studying language and identity requires one to consider how various factors influence the linguistic choices of a speaker. It is therefore clear that the opinions expressed by participants suggest that their linguistic choices are a result of how standardisation was an important identity marker of white Afrikaans speakers. It is also because of how standardisation was associated with whiteness and purism (van der Waal 2012:450). These associations inform their opinions and influence their linguistic choices regarding identity construction. Afrikaans is thus not viewed as a representation of participants' identities. This aligns with Dyers's (2008:52) argument that it is the sociopolitical background of South Africa that led to the coloured population growing as a community with a specific identity which sets them apart from the white elite Afrikaans speakers who share their language. As explained in Stroud and Williams's (2017:185) research, one of the ways that this is achieved by the coloured population is through the use of Kaaps, as Kaaps speakers are reappropriating Afrikaans on the "periphery that often involves understandings of language, authenticity, and ownership that diverge significantly from more institutionalised discourses on language". This further points to Bell and Gibson's (2011:561) claim that identity involves identification to others as well as divergence from them,

as can be seen in participants positioning themselves as 'not' white Afrikaans people and their willingness to represent themselves as different.

Furthermore, the fact that participants are not "comfortable" using Afrikaans and the fact that they find it "difficult" to express themselves in Afrikaans "especially [as a] gay person", points to how identity construction entails active subject involvement as participants play a vital role in providing linguistic, racial and sexual meaning for their identities (Erasmus and Pieterse 1999:181). This points to the fluidity and flexibility of participants' identities and the multidimensionality thereof as it is both their racial and sexual identities that influence their linguistic opinions and choices about the use of Afrikaans (Fought 2011:246). Evidence of this can also be seen in one example which particularly stood out in Devin's discussion of why he started learning Gayle. Right before his statement in (17), he states: "Gayle also made me feel comfortable of who, of my sexual orientation…<u>because</u> we were being oppressed for being a different race, besides being white Afrikaans, uhm Gayle made us feel like we were something…like we were part of something, we belonged to some group (.)". Here, the verb phrases "like we were something", and "like we were part of something", and the verb "belonged" implies a desire to feel a sense of belonging. This, along with the fact that Devin placed *significance* (Gee 2014b:99) on why he is not "white Afrikaans", implies that Afrikaans made him feel as though he does not belong whereas Gayle made him feel like he does.

The attitudes and opinions expressed by Devin also imply that Afrikaans is not representative of his coloured identity, nor is it representative of his gay identity, and that these are two identities that influence his linguistic opinions and choices about the use of Afrikaans. It is clear that Devin is referring to linguistic practices in which he uses Gayle to construct his identity as a coloured gay man, and as 'not' a white Afrikaans speaking person. The fluidity and flexibility of his identity lies in the fact that, through the use of Gayle, he is performing multiple identities at the same time - his identity as coloured, as gay, as not white, and as not Afrikaans-speaking. Thus, it is clear how participants' racial and sexual identities are not independent but acquire meaning in relation to other identity positions (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:598) and dissociating from an identity position, which in this case would be "white", suggests something about another identity position, which in this case would be "coloured" and "gay". As such, identities are relationally constructed through various, often intersecting, features of the relationship between self and other (Bucholtz and Hall (2005:598).

5.1.4. Anxieties and fear of judgement around English and Afrikaans

Another important pattern that was found in the data is that participants frequently feel anxious when speaking English and Afrikaans. Although English is something participants speak often and although Afrikaans is often part of participants' surroundings, speaking it is shown to result in fear of judgement. The data constituting this theme demonstrate that ideologies such as "normativity" are reinvoked in participants (Busch 2017:519). The following extracts indicate this:

23) **Gino**: "…it's difficult to communicate in English, not because you can't, it's because you get anxious before you even speak, so that is sometimes the thing that withhold a lot of people back, they'll keep quiet in a space where all the people are communicating but this is because you can speak it, but you don't want to speak because you shy, you think people is going to judge you…"
24) **Gino**: "…I'm comfortable with myself but when I have to change to English, it's almost like you have to go find a dictionary in your head…and you get anxious because you don't wanna (want to) sound dumb…you don't want to sound stupid…"
25) **Haden**: "…some words don't come to me so it's a bit difficult…"
26) **Ivano**: "…I sometimes lose my way with English and I sometimes don't know how to get to like the English word, I struggle a little bit…"

In (23), Gino describes speaking English as "difficult" and highlights that it is because "you get anxious before you even speak". He also explains that this anxiousness is what "hold[s] a lot of people back", and that it results in him "keep[ing] quiet", implying that it is the feelings of anxiousness when speaking English that makes it "difficult". He also explains that he is "shy" and thinks that people will "judge" him, where the word "judge", further implies that the opinions of others' regarding his use of English is what influences his decision not to use English and to "keep quiet" instead. In (24), Gino states: "you get anxious because you don't wanna (want to) sound dumb…you don't want to sound stupid", implying that his use of English and the perceived opinions of others results in fear of judgement of sounding "dumb" or "stupid", which in turn results in feeling anxious. The repetition of "you don't wanna (want to) sound" followed by an adjective expressing a lack of intelligence implies a belief that the way in which he speaks English, means that he is "dumb" or "stupid".

Participants often place *significance* (Gee 2014:99) on the fact that speaking English is not easy and that they struggle when speaking it. This can be seen in Haden's explanation in (25) as he states: "some words don't come to me so it's a bit difficult", and in Ivano's explanation in (26) as he states: "I sometimes lose my way with English" and "I struggle a bit". The metaphorical verb phrases "some words don't come to me" and "lose my way", and the word "struggle" all indicate feelings of being lost when using English.

Furthermore, this same pattern was found in discussions about Afrikaans and how participants feel when using it. The following extracts indicate this:

27) **Devin**: "…so I can speak Afrikaans fluently uhm but… when I'm asked to speak Afrikaans, I stutter…"
28) **Ernie**: "…I also feel incompetent because I don't know as many words… because of my lack of *woordeskat* (vocabulary) uhm the, the thoughts sort of get stuck and I can't bring it out so that's when I feel like…a bit *kak* (shit)…"
29) **Haden**: "I feel like I am going to say something wrong or they going to laugh at me or something, I'm anxious when I speak Afrikaans because I'm always scared I'll mess up or not use that word in a proper way"

In (27), Devin explains that even though he can speak Afrikaans "fluently', he "stutter[s]" when speaking it, implying a sense of discomfort when using Afrikaans. Ernie echoes this view in (28) as he states that when speaking Afrikaans, "the thoughts sort of get stuck and [he] can't bring it out", which, just like the case with English, indicate a sense of feeling lost when using Afrikaans. He also states that this is what makes him feel "incompetent" and "a bit *kak*" (shit), which implies that speaking Afrikaans results in a negative feeling. These extracts reflect the *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between speaking Afrikaans and the negative feelings associated with it. In (29), Haden's statement: "I feel like I am going to say something wrong" indicates a fear of judgment as he goes on to explain that "they going to laugh at [him]" and that he is "always scared [that he'll] mess up". Here, the adjective "wrong" implies a belief that the way in which he speaks Afrikaans is "wrong" and the way in which others speak Afrikaans is "right", and it is these kinds of beliefs that instill fear of judgement, indicated by the declarative phrase: "I'm always scared I'll mess up". Mashazi and Oostendorp (In Press: 17) also found this connection in their study as one participant described her feelings towards Afrikaans as "a knot in the stomach" and expressed that she feels as though she is constantly being "crucified"

when speaking Afrikaans, and that people associate the way she speaks Afrikaans with being unintelligent.

These feelings of anxiety and incompetence, and the fear of judgement experienced by participants' when using English and Afrikaans can be linked to how language ideologies and debates about linguistic normativity, language and language use, etc., turn into opinions about ourselves and others as speakers, which are represented in language practices (Busch 2016:7). The feelings expressed here are indicative of how language can be viewed as "an intersubjective bodily-emotional gesture which relates the experiencing/speaking subject to the other and to the world" (Busch 2016:7). From a phenomenological perspective, these feelings of "incompetence", "struggle", being "lost" or "wrong", getting "stuck", being "scared", and the fears of being laughed at, or sounding "dumb" and "stupid", can all be viewed as bodily experiences which, according to Busch (2016:7), can be described as a move of withdrawal from the world and which can cause one to fall silent. This is evident in (23) as Gino states: "they'll keep quiet in a space where all the people are communicating… because you shy, you think people is going to judge you". From a discourse point of view, participants' use of English and Afrikaans and what they consider as 'wrong' or 'improper' is not a personal flaw, but a violation of a discursively set convention that has become internalised through these experiences mentioned by participants. It is these experiences that play a key role in making sense of the experiencing speaker and their relation to the rest of the world (Busch 2016:7). These findings indicate that participants in this study are racialised speakers who are marginalised by raciolinguistic ideologies as they are constructed as "linguistically deviant" (Rosa and Flores 2015:150) according to the dominant and privileged white views on the cultural and linguistic practices of racialised communities.

This theme captures participants' views of English and Afrikaans as pure and proper ways of speaking and how the use of it results in feelings of anxiety and fear of judgement. The language portraits along with the interview data display recurring patterns of English as a dominant part of participants' linguistic repertoires as they have been raised and taught in English and deem it necessary for success and professionalism. It can thus be argued that the use of English is a vital indicator of participants' professional identities. Afrikaans, however, is shown to play a more subordinate role in participants' linguistic repertoires and even though it forms part of participants' surroundings, it is not considered representative of any part of their identities. The

data shows recurring patterns of participants' awareness of the sociopolitical history of Afrikaans as a white language and as a tool of oppression and marginalisation.

5.2. Kaaps and Gayle as part of coloured gay men's linguistic repertoires

Although Kaaps and Gayle were not initially included in all of the language portraits, it came up and was highlighted in all of the interviews. It can be argued that even though these varieties play important roles in participants lives, some may have specific ideas about the statuses of these varieties and do not see them as 'legitimate' languages. Some participants included Kaaps and not Gayle and vice versa, and the data indicated recurring patterns of Kaaps and Gayle as one way of speaking or as ways of speaking that works together. The ways in which participants represented Kaaps and Gayle on their language portraits and their explanations thereof, as is discussed in this section, indicate that these ways of speaking play very important roles for participants' identities as coloured gay men. An analysis of the interviews and language portraits suggests that Kaaps and Gayle are the ways of speaking that participants display the most emotional attachment to, and it is often the ways of speaking that play a big role in their lives. The representation of Kaaps and Gayle on the language portraits, together with frequent explanations that point to its linkage to identity construction, and a sense of belonging and liberation, indicate that these ways of speaking function in many ways to construct their identities. Given the prevalence of racism and homophobia in the current day, it is not surprising that the data indicates that Kaaps and Gayle are also indicators of struggle and hardship and can therefore also be used as a strategies of resistance.

5.2.1. The representation of race and sexuality on participants' language portraits

From the data, it is clear that participants put a lot of thought into the way they have represented Kaaps and Gayle on their language portraits. This made it possible to understand different kinds of structuring according to parts of the body of the silhouette that can be linked to metaphorical representations, and that indicate the emotional attachment and importance participants associate with Kaaps and their racial identity, and Gayle and their sexual identity.

30) **Brent**: "…because red is like a passionate colour and I feel like because my Kaaps is in red, I feel like it's like I'm rooted in Kaaps basically, so it's like blood is red, your heart is red… it represents like passion… because without blood you can't live…"

31) **Ernie:** "Uhm so within me as you can see there's just like the purple that spreads throughout the entire body and that's Kaaps but underneath Kaaps there's also Gayle so basically what this Kaaps is, is basically my coloured identity which runs through my entire body, which is how my body navigates within the world, so when I wake up in the morning, I am aware of the fact that I am a coloured, I am aware of the fact that I am a queer coloured and…why it's in the middle and it starts there is because it's my heart, it's what gets me pumping, it's what gets me moving…"
32) **Fabian:** "…these are veins so you can see the rainbow colours are uhm in these veins and there's brown which indicates my coloured identity and…the veins is a symbol of, it's who I am, it's something I'm proud of"
33) **Gino:** "Coloured is green which refers to like it comes naturally and it's like life, I put Afrikaaps there because as I told you, it's superior in me, this is who I am, it's at the top and that is where it should be…"

Brent used the colour red to represent Kaaps and in (30), he describes it as a "passionate colour", implying that he is passionate about Kaaps. He further states: "blood is red, your heart is red" and emphasises that "without blood, you can't live". This metaphor highlights the *significance* (Gee 2014b:99) of the role of Kaaps and implies that Brent views the use and role of Kaaps as an essential part of living and of who he is. As depicted in figure 1 in subtheme 5.1.1 (and in appendix F), Fabian drew veins and used "rainbow colours" and the colour "brown", where brown represents his coloured identity. In (32) he states: "the veins is a symbol of, it's who I am, it's something I'm proud of", implying that his coloured identity, along with the use of Kaaps, signals pride and plays a role in expressing who he is. In (33), Gino explains that he used the colour green on the face and head of the body silhouette to represent Kaaps, and states that "it comes naturally and it's like life", implying that communicating in Kaaps is easily accomplished. Moreover, the comparison of Kaaps to "life" also implies that it is an essential part of living. Gino further states that "it's at the top and that is where it should be", implying that Kaaps is a dominant way of speaking and that it is the most essential part of his linguistic repertoire, and therefore, it is placed on a high position of the body silhouette. These explanations of the symbolism used to display Kaaps and coloured identity mean that participants are making a *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between their coloured identities and Kaaps, and essential body parts such as a heart and veins, in an attempt to indicate importance.

Moreover, in (31), Ernie also explains that the purple that he used to represent Kaaps (see figure 4 below) "spreads throughout the entire body" and that "underneath Kaaps, there's also Gayle", where the adjective "entire" implies that Kaaps is a major part of who he is and where the word "underneath" implies that Kaaps consist of many layers that are connected to his coloured identity. This is further evident as he states: "when I wake up in the morning, I am aware of the fact that I am a coloured, I am aware of the fact that I am a queer coloured". Here, Ernie's repetition of the declarative phrase "I am aware" and of the words "the fact that" implies that Kaaps enables him to be aware of his identity not only as a "coloured" but as a "queer coloured", making a *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between Kaaps and his racial and sexual identity. It is important to note here that Ernie did not include Gayle on his portrait, but highlighted that Gayle is a part of Kaaps, implied by his statement in (31), and his other discussions around Kaaps and Gayle.

As shown above, participants often represent Kaaps in a way that emphasises its importance to the construction of their coloured identity. A lot of thought has been put into choosing specific colours and body parts on which to represent Kaaps, which is evident from the extracts above. The data indicates that Kaaps is viewed by participants as essential, and participants often use very specific words to explain the crucial role of Kaaps in their everyday lives, such as "blood", "heart", "naturally", "pumping", "veins", etc. Similar patterns of the importance of Gayle and its crucial role were found in participants explanations of their representation of Gayle on their language portraits, as seen below:

34) **Chad**: "the reason why I used the pink… I see it as the colour of strength , like for me… bold and pr:::oud like pride (.) that's why I chose pink for Gayle"
35) **Gino**: "I basically used the colour pink and I used it over the chest part because it comes naturally so when I speak to my friends and stuff, I Gayle all the time… it becomes a norm to me"
36) **Ivano**: "the hands are represented in pink to showcase my use of Gayle, because it's not big, it wasn't there throughout my life, it just recently came into my life… it's a small part of my body BUT it goes to where my heart is and also to my motions like the way I move because… the use of Gayle in my life has been a way of showcasing authenticity of who I am as a gay person… I think that's also representative of my feminine energy so like I associate Gayle, talking Gayle with a sense of femininity which I am proud of

> having and that comes at all, all the pieces of the pink goes to my heart because my heart is like who I truly am and that is part of, it's part of who I truly am"

As explained in (32) and depicted in figure 1 in subtheme 5.1.1 (and in appendix F), and as discussed previously, Fabian drew veins and used "rainbow colours" and the colour "brown", where the "rainbow colours" represent Gayle and his gay identity. Pink was another colour that participants often used to represent Gayle. In (34), Chad explains his reason for using pink to represent Gayle: "I see it as the colour of strength… bold and pr:::oud like pride". Here, Chad makes the *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between his representation of Gayle, and pink being the "colour of strength". This, along with the word "bold" and the emphasis on the word "pr:::oud", implies that Gayle plays a role in Chad representing himself as strong, bold and proud. Gino also used the colour pink to represent Gayle and he "used it over the chest part because it comes naturally" as indicated in (35). Gino also used the words "comes naturally" when talking about Kaaps, as discussed previously, and in (35) it also implies that communicating in Gayle requires very little effort. He also states: "I Gayle all the time… it becomes a norm to me", where the adverbial phrase "all the time" asserts that he speaks Gayle a lot and where the noun "norm" refers to how Gayle is a normal part of his everyday speech.

Furthermore, Ivano also used pink and his hands to represent Gayle, as shown in figure 5 in theme 5.3.1 (and in appendix F). In (36), he explains that the reason for using the hands to represent Gayle is "because it's not big, it wasn't there throughout [his] life, it just recently came into [his] life, constructing a *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between Gayle occupying little space on his language portrait and Gayle being something he recently learned how to speak. However, he elaborates: "it's a small part of my body BUT it goes to where my heart is" where the emphasis on the contrastive conjunction "BUT" implies that although he only learned it recently, it is something which is close to his heart, suggesting importance and emotional attachment to Gayle. Moreover, the statement: "the use of Gayle in my life has been a way of showcasing authenticity of who I am as a gay person" implies that using Gayle means expressing who he "truly" is. He adds that it is representative of his "feminine energy" and explicitly makes the *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between Gayle and femininity through the declarative phrase: "I associate Gayle, talking Gayle with a sense of femininity". The pink lines representing Gayle in Ivano's silhouette are coming from the hands and run throughout the body where all of these lines link to the heart. In (36) he explains this by stating: "all the pieces of the pink goes to my heart because my heart is like who I truly am and that is part of, it's part

of who I truly am", where the noun "heart" implies that Ivano views Gayle as a crucial part of his daily life, and where the repetition of the adverb "truly" implies that Gayle helps him construct and express his gay identity genuinely and to the fullest degree.

According to Coffey (2015:508), "embodied experiences are shaped by culturally bound representations" and as such, metaphors "do not reside in our heads alone". In the data, metaphorical representations of "passion", "life" and "authenticity", for example, as signalled by the "heart" and "chest", for example, are depicted in idiomatic expressions and pictorial representations. Participants' representation of the heart in red, for example, "follows a conventional symbol of the heart as an embodied seat of emotions" (Coffey 2015:508). The language portraits together with the interview data display recurrent patterns of how the body silhouette provided to participants serve as a frame to construct metaphors, including spatial metaphors. According to Busch (2018:10), "the silhouette suggests a structuring according to parts of the body which may refer to common metaphors". This can be seen in participants' placement of Kaaps or Gayle at the heart, chest, or centre of the body, as a place of emotions, signalling emotional attachment and importance, or where participants actually drew a heart or veins to indicate emotional attachment and importance, as discussed above. This structuring is also achieved as participants often dedicate a lot of space to Kaaps and Gayle, to indicate importance, for example, in Ashwin's language portrait in figure 3 (and in appendix F), where the red representing Gayle occupies almost the entire body silhouette, and in Ernie's language portrait in figure 4 (and in appendix F), where the purple representing Kaaps runs through the body silhouette.

Figure 3: Ashwin's language portrait

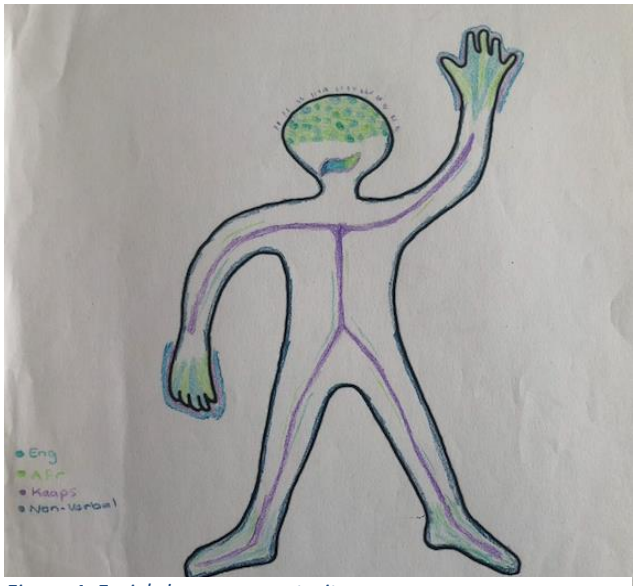

Figure 4: Ernie's language portrait

As Stein and Newfield (2006:921) state, "bodies are repositories of knowledge, but these knowledges are not always knowable in and through language: they can be sensed, felt, performed, imagined, imaged or dreamed". The depiction and articulation of metaphors, for example, in (30), Brent's metaphor of the heart and blood, and not being able to live without these as shown in figure 2 in theme 5.1.2 (and in appendix F), point to how he uses this to indicate that he cannot live without Kaaps. The language portraits can thus be viewed as a space which, "in a pictorial-presentational and linguistic-discursive sense" is organised and shaped through metaphors (Busch 2018:11).

From the data, it can be argued that for most participants in this study, Kaaps and Gayle are the ways of speaking that they display the most emotional attachment to, and they are often the ways of speaking that play a big role in their everyday lives. The representation of Kaaps and Gayle on the language portraits, together with frequent explanations that point to its linkage to identity construction, makes it clear that these ways of speaking play an important role in participants expressing who they are and how they want to be viewed as coloured gay individuals, which will be further discussed in the following section.

5.2.2. Identity construction and positive feelings associated with the use of Kaaps and Gayle

This theme captures the intersections of Kaaps and Gayle as important ways of speaking for the construction of participants' identities as coloured gay men. Participants express positive feelings associated with the use of Kaaps and Gayle. They very often describe the use of Kaaps and Gayle as "comfortable" and "expressive" and emphasise that these ways of speaking provide them with a sense of belonging and liberation.

37) **Brent**: "I feel like if a gay male partakes in Gayle, it means he is very comfortable, because I feel like <u>for you to take on a language</u> because of your sexual orientation, I feel like you have to be very comfortable in your, in your sexual orientation(.)"
38) **Chad**: "…*gamtaal* (Kaaps) is also part of my, like of who I am… it makes me feel good, it makes me feel like a sense of belonging and I can you know, I can link it to hm, how can I say, as a part of my heritage you know"
39) **Devin**: "…Kaaps for me, I have that uhm sense of belonging…I <u>enjoy</u> speaking it uhm it makes me feel comfortable, I don't have to pretend…when you speak Kaaps you can

make up your own stuff… you feel comfortable, you feel like there's a lot off your shoulders, there's not a, not a burden associated or pressure… it's a comfortable way of being…"

40) **Devin**: "I feel flamboyant to be honest, I feel very gay ((laughs))…I feel very feminine…I feel a sense of belonging uhm a sense of community…"

41) **Ernie**: "… when I speak Kaaps oh fun times fun times, I feel like myself I completely feel like myself uhm because… it's just like a mixture of a lot of things that is inherent to me and things that I love, I get to be expressive… and I get to have a fun time, it's a nice language to use when I'm trying to be expressive…I feel light, I feel at ease, there we go, I feel comfortable, I feel comfortable (.)"

42) **Ivano**: "Gayle I feel like I can be EXTRA, I can go like colour outside of the lines, if that makes sense, I can be as flamboyant or as feminine, as gay as I want to be because like speaking Gayle allows me to be that person"

43) **Ivano**: "…as you can see with the colours, yah they they link up to a particular part of my body or like my actual being that I can't live without, without my heart like I'm gonna (going to) die, so when I think about that…it seems dramatic but like who am I without my Gayle?, who am I without my Kaapse Afrikaans? like there is no identity for me…I'm proud of speaking Gayle, I'm proud of speaking Kaapse Afrikaans and that all links up to, to my heart and that's something I can't live without"

The adjectival phrase "very comfortable" used by Brent in (37) emphasises that speaking Gayle shows that you have fully accepted and came to terms with your sexuality. He also makes the *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between speaking Gayle and accepting your identity as a gay man. In (41), Ernie explains how he feels when using Kaaps and states: "I feel like myself, I completely feel like myself" where the adverb "completely" emphasises the important role that Kaaps plays in him constructing his identity as a coloured man. Participants are clearly placing *significance* (Gee 2014b:99) on the fact that using these ways of speaking means that they are comfortable and at ease with who they are.

Furthermore, the extracts above indicate that these ways of speaking provide participants with a sense of belonging as they can express who they are with those who understand these ways of speaking and what it means to them. Chad did not include Kaaps on his language portrait but used Kaaps terminology, like "*gaatjie*" (taxi guard) during his interview. This prompted me to start a conversation around Kaaps to see if he was aware of his use of it. During this

conversation, as seen in (38), he states: "*gamtaal* (Kaaps) is also part of my, like of who I am…it makes me feel like a sense of belonging", where the words "who I am" makes reference to his identity as a coloured man and where the words "sense of belonging" makes reference to his connection to the coloured community. This is further implied as he states that it is part of his "heritage". In (40), Devin also explicitly states that using Gayle makes him feel "a sense of belonging" and "a sense of community". From this, it can be argued that participants often make very clear *connections* (Gee 2014a:96) between their use of Kaaps and Gayle and feelings of belonging and community.

Moreover, the extracts above also indicate that for participants, these ways of speaking provide them with a sense of liberation as they allow them to be expressive and enable them to freely be who they want and speak the way they want. In (39), Devin states that when he speaks Kaaps, he does not "have to pretend" where the necessity modality "have to" implies that when he does not speak Kaaps, he feels as if he is pretending to be someone else. This is further implied as he states that Kaaps allows you to "feel like there's a lot off your shoulders" and that there is no "burden" or "pressure" that comes with speaking it. His use of the metaphor "a lot off your shoulders" along with the words "burden" and "pressure" implies that Kaaps allows him to feel free and at ease with who he is and how he is speaking. In (42), Ivano also makes this *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between the use of Gayle and a sense of liberation as he states that Gayle allows him to be "EXTRA", where the adjective "EXTRA" refers to being dramatic or putting on a show. The emphasis on this word, along with the metaphorical phrase "I can go like colour outside of the lines" implies that Gayle allows him to express himself in a way that is creative and unconventional. He further states: "I can be as flamboyant or as feminine, as gay as I want to be because like speaking Gayle allows me to be that person", revealing a very explicit belief that Gayle allows him to express himself in a way that is free and unrestrictive, and that goes beyond what is normative and conventional. This is echoed by Devin in (40) as he states that speaking Gayle makes him feel "flamboyant", "very gay", and "feminine".

This same sense of liberation associated with the use of Gayle was expressed by Ernie in (41) as he states that he gets to have a "fun time" when using Kaaps and further states: "I feel light, I feel at ease". His repetition of "fun time[s]" in (41) emphasises that engaging in Kaaps is fun and the metaphor "light" and the words "at ease" imply that the use of Kaaps enables him to feel relaxed and as if his worries and anxieties have disappeared. Participants' discussions of their experiences with using Kaaps and Gayle, for example, being "comfortable", "expressive",

"at ease", "light", etc., suggests that they are positioning themselves as specific kinds of people that have a particular *identity* or multiple *identities* (Gee 2014a:112). In the above extracts, the "socially recognizable identity" that participants enact through the use of Kaaps and Gayle are coloured, gay, (and sometimes feminine) men. Further, we see here that participants refer to specific linguistic *practices* (Gee 2014a:104) that are considered 'normal' by and in the coloured gay community, for example, speaking in a way that makes them become recognised as "flamboyant".

It is clear from the above that Kaaps and Gayle serve as "linguistic resources" that are used by participants to engage in processes and projects of identification (Alim 2016:2). Participants often describe their experiences with the use of Kaaps and Gayle as "comfortable" and "expressive", which suggests that their use aids in the construction of their identities as coloured gay men. Kaaps and Gayle are both marginalised ways of speaking associated with marginalised identities, which influence each other in socially meaningful ways. It is therefore not surprising that participants often associate these ways of speaking with a sense of belonging and a sense of freedom from the 'normative' linguistic practices and behaviours. As Stroud (2015:26) explains: "the structural category[ies] of race [and sexuality] remains a key mould into which everyday interactions and identities are cast". Participants' experiences with engaging in Kaaps and Gayle to construct their identities are mostly, if not always, very similarly described, which points to how their identities as coloured gay men construct experiences that are novel and distinct. A particular example indicating the importance of both Kaaps and Gayle as linguistic resources for participants' construction of their identities as coloured gay men is seen in Ivano's statement in (59). His use of the rhetorical questions "who am I without my Gayle?" and "who am I without my Kaapse Afrikaans?" implies that he is nothing without Kaaps and Gayle. This is further implied as he explains that without these, "there is no identity for me", placing emphasis on the fact that his coloured and gay identity is a major part of who he is and that Kaaps and Gayle plays a major role in constructing it.

Furthermore, Bell and Gibson (2011:559) claim that performance plays a very important role in relating linguistic resources with different characterological figures, where specific stylistic variants function as an index for specific social meaning (Agha 2005:38). This is evident as participants speak about Kaaps and Gayle as "expressive". More specifically, it can be seen as Devin (in 40) explains that Gayle makes him feel "flamboyant", "very gay" and "feminine" and as Ivano (in 42) talks about using Gayle to be "EXTRA", "flamboyant", "feminine" and to

"colour outside of the lines". A performance in which femininity and flamboyance is enacted through the use of Gayle is important to its stereotypical association to a characterological figure related to the image of a coloured, feminine, gay man. Butler (1990:136) argues that as drag creates a unified image of a 'woman', it also unveils "the distinctness of those aspects of gendered experience which are falsely naturalised as a unity through the regulatory fiction of heterosexual coherence". Since gender is always a repetition of a norm, this is what creates possibilities to repeat differently and subvert these norms. This fits in with what can be inferred from Devin (40) and Ivano's (42) responses as it can be argued that they make use of Gayle as a way of performing their identities as men that are feminine and gay, which can be viewed as resisting a norm centred around the belief that the conventional gender order consists of masculine men who are heterosexual and feminine women who are heterosexual. Race can also be viewed as performative because a 'dominant' race exists and is constructed through reiteration and exclusion. As Butler (1993:18) states: "race is partially produced as an effect of the history of racism, that its boundaries and meanings are constructed over time not only in the service of racism but also in the service of the contestation of racism". This therefore creates opportunities for the reiteration and re-enactment of race in ways that can be viewed as subverting the 'normative' race and resisting what is dominant. Participants' narratives thus indicate that the use of Kaaps and Gayle carries strong characteristics of identity performance.

As discussed, participants frequently talk about the "expressive" nature of Kaaps and Gayle in the performance of their identities as gay men. As such, they are referring to practices and processes of enregisterment as Kaaps and Gayle are indexical of specific features associated with coloured and gay identities (Agha 2005:38). Bucholtz and Hall (2005:594) explain that indexicality is a "mechanism whereby identity is constituted". Indexicality is thus an important tool for participants as they use linguistic forms associated with Kaaps to perform a "coloured" racial identity, and linguistic forms associated with Gayle to perform a "feminine" gendered identity and a "gay" sexual identity. Bell and Gibson (2011:561) explain that during performance, indexical connections point to or help create social meanings, and these are reinforced or reinterpreted. It can therefore be argued that participants' emphasis on Kaaps's and Gayle's role in constructing identity and belonging point to the indexical connections that are made through the use of Kaaps and Gayle. This helps participants achieve group belonging in interaction via mutual understandings of creative linguistic subversions. Participants are therefore referring to ways in which they are performing their identities by making use of linguistic practices where these ways of speaking index membership of a particular group

(Watts and Morrissey 2019:269). Moreover, the data here further indicates that participants' identities are constructed in a flexible and temporary manner (Motschenbacher 2011:153). This is evident as even though Kaaps and Gayle are considered "expressive" ways of speaking which result in feelings of being "comfortable" and "at ease", there are times when participants consciously choose not to speak it, as discussed in previous and later sections. Identities are therefore, as Hall (1996:19) puts it, moments of temporary attachment to the subject positions which are constructed via discursive practices.

5.2.3. Kaaps and Gayle as indicators of surviving struggle, hardship, and oppression

Another finding that emerged in discussions around Kaaps and Gayle is that they are often viewed as sites of overcoming struggle, hardship and oppression. This theme captures the voices of those who were historically marginalised and oppressed and who are refashioning themselves through the use of Kaaps and Gayle as strategies of reclamation and resistance in the current day.

44) **Chad**: "Because they were oppressed by the words so now we claiming it back"

45) **Chad**: "*as os vir jou moffie noem, moet djy weet* (if we call you a moffie, you must know) it's like the highest person… because *as 'n gay vir jou sê 'n moffie, dis soos djy is my moffie* (if a gay calls you a moffie, it's like you are my moffie)… *dit is een wat vir ons opstaan* (it is one who stands up for us)… *wat vir ons veg* (that fights for us)"

46) **Devin**:"…Kaaps is also associated with people that are coming from a low socioeconomic status where they were deprived from being…given a formal type of uhm education, so my parents they…left school in grade like nine…so they didn't actually speak English or Afrikaans to a proper standard, so and they communicate in that way…"

47) **Devin**: "I know a lot of people have a lot of reasons of why they started speaking Gayle uhm, as a means of them dealing with being gay, also coming out or being, accepting themselves being gay, so that's a small step in the direction of acceptance"

48) **Devin**:"… anyone can use the language… but don't undermine it, don't make it as if it is a joke, uhm because you don't understand the seriousness of the language… because I learnt it only because I was oppressed previously so… don't treat it as if it is just something you can just play around with uhm because for me, that is a means of communication because I was oppressed, I wanted to communicate with people of my

kind and I wanted to have a conversation with them without people understanding what I'm saying…"

49) **Ernie**: "…I don't have a problem with coloured people using Gayle, I have a problem with people outside of coloured contexts using it because like I've said, it's like a form liberation, it's inherent to us, it's us reclaiming…so it's like you can't use it because of this and I think that where we reclaim our power starts with our language in this context, you know"

50) **Ernie**: "…I feel that like also Kaaps is a resistance against your normal Afrikaans standard and it's reclaiming the coloured identity so therefore if that's what Kaaps as an umbrella term means then that means Gayle is doing the same thing for the coloured queer identity…"

51) **Ivano**:"…it also represents like uhm certain parts of family or I don't want to generalise but like in many kind of coloured homes, there's, there's a sense of like hardship and struggle and strife…when I think about *kombuis* (kitchen) Afrikaans…I would speak it with my aunties and uncles that…that are parents to like their kids are like perhaps not going down the right path or they're on drugs or they're in jail and that would be the same with my brother as well, like it's just like the struggle the hardships and perhaps not having a lot of privilege, financial privileges or uhm kind of spatial privileges at home but they make it work WHICH IS SOMETHING THAT I'M LIKE PROUD OF and that's like that struggle that you proud of knowing that your family can get through that so like that's what the *kombuis* (kitchen) Afrikaans represents to me, like a sense of honour, like a badge of honour to show that you come out of a, out of a struggle but you not afraid to like showcase like to acknowledge it…"

During Chad's discussion about Gayle, he described it as a form of reclamation as he states in (44): "they were oppressed by the words so now we claiming it back", where the pronouns "they" and "we" refer to the gay community and the prepositional phrase "by the words" refer to derogatory labels such as *moffie*. In (45), he further explains that if someone within the gay community calls you a *moffie*, "it's like the highest person", implying that the use of the word *moffie* by in-group members carries positive connotations of being regarded as someone held in high esteem. It also refers to someone who stands up and fights for the gay community as implied by the declarative phrase: "*dit is een wat vir ons opstaan* (it is one who stands up for us)… *wat vir ons veg* (that fights for us)". Here, his use of the metaphors "*vir ons opstaan*" (stand up for us) and "*veg vir ons*" (fight for us) implies a belief that being an ally to, and/or a

part of, the gay community, means defending the gay community. Chad places *significance* (Gee 2014b:99) on the word *moffie* and what it means for the gay community in the current day in an attempt to show that Gayle's use can be viewed as a form of reclamation and empowerment. Crenshaw (1991:1297) stresses the importance of remembering that the process of categorising or naming is not unilateral. This is because marginalised persons can and do participate in this and sometimes even subvert the naming process in an empowering way. Chad's explanation of the word *moffie* indicates how its use "takes the socially imposed identity and empowers it as an anchor of subjectivity" (Crenshaw 1991:1297). Not only does it act as a strategy of resistance but also as "a positive discourse of self-identification" (Crenshaw 1991:1297). The word *moffie* is a very common linguistic feature of both Kaaps and Gayle and is used in participants' everyday communication. It can thus be argued that just like the word *moffie* acts as a strategy of resistance and reclamation, so do these ways of speaking.

In (49), Ernie echoes this view of Kaaps and Gayle as a strategy of resistance and reclamation as he states that "[he does not] have a problem with coloured people using Gayle, [he has] a problem with people outside of coloured contexts using it". He further explains: "it's like a form liberation, it's inherent to us, it's us reclaiming…so it's like you can't use it because of this and I think that where we reclaim our power starts with our language". Here, Ernie places *significance* (Gee 2014b:99) on the opinion that people who are not coloured should not be allowed to speak Kaaps because of its sociopolitical and racialised history. His emphasis on his reasons for having this view implies that the use of Kaaps is not merely a form of communication amongst coloured people, but also a tool of empowerment and acceptance, as implied by the declarative phrase, "I think that where we reclaim our power starts with our language". It can be argued that Ernie uses Kaaps in specific *practices* (Gee 2014a:104) of liberation, resistance, and reclamation. He further states that "Kaaps is a resistance against your normal Afrikaans standard and it's reclaiming the coloured identity so therefore if that's what Kaaps as an umbrella term means then that means Gayle is doing the same thing for the coloured queer identity". This statement captures the intersectional experience of linguistic, racial, and sexual oppression as it emphasises the marginalisation of Kaaps and its speakers as well as Gayle and its speakers. It also implies that these intersecting forms of oppression are the reason why he views both of these ways of speaking as strategies of reclamation and resistance. Fitting Butler's (1990:137) conceptualisation of gender performativity as a strategy of resistance, participants are performing their racial and sexual identities as strategies of resistance in an attempt to reclaim their identities and the ways of speaking associated with it. As Butler

(1993:2) states, performativity can be understood as the "reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains". It can thus be argued that participants' use of Kaaps and Gayle, and identity construction can be viewed as interconnected acts.

Furthermore, it can be argued that participants' explanations of their experiences with Kaaps and Gayle point to how it is often viewed as representative of surviving the struggle and hardship that came with the oppressive practices of Apartheid with regards to race and sexuality. In (46), Devin explains that he associates Kaaps with people "coming from a low socioeconomic status" and people who "were deprived from being…given a formal type of uhm education", where the verb "deprived" implies a sense of suffering and hardship. In his discussion about Gayle in (47) and (48), he expresses similar struggles and hardship and what it means for his use of Gayle. In (47), he states that for many gay men, Gayle serves as a means of "acceptance" and "coming out". Moreover, in (48), he states: "anyone can use the language… but don't undermine it, don't make it as if it is a joke, uhm because you don't understand the seriousness of the language", where the noun "seriousness" points to the significance of Gayle in coloured gay men's lives. The imperative phrase "don't undermine it, don't make it as if it is a joke" implies that the significance and value of Gayle in gay men's lives are often not acknowledged and that its use is often treated as a "joke". This can be linked to how the importance of Kaaps is not acknowledged and how its use is often belittled, never taken seriously, and is mostly characterised as comical (Willemse 2016:75; van Heerden 2016:44).

Moreover, in (48), Devin states that he only learned Gayle "because he was oppressed previously", and because he "wanted to communicate with people of [his] kind, indicating that Gayle, in a sense, lessened his struggle of oppression as he was able to construct solidarity with those who share similar experiences. In (51), Ivano's explanation of what Kaaps represents to him is particularly interesting as it clearly points to Kaaps as an indicator of struggle and hardship. He explains that in many coloured homes, "there's a sense of like hardship and struggle and strife", implying that in his opinion, being coloured means that you have experienced some kind of hardship and struggle. He explains that when he thinks about Kaaps, it reminds him of when he speaks to his aunts and uncles who are parents that are dealing with children who are "not going down the right path or they're on drugs, or they're in jail" and then states: "that would be the same with my brother as well", implying that these are the kinds of struggles that he also deals with. In further explaining these struggles and hardships, Ivano

states that it also includes "not having a lot of privilege" and particularly mentions "financial privileges" and "spatial privileges". Here, it is quite clear that Ivano is making reference to coloured people's situations on the Cape Flats that are the result of almost 50 years of Apartheid segregationist policies against non-white citizens, depriving them of jobs, houses, education, etc. Even more interesting, in (51), Ivano further emphasises that despite these difficulties, "they make it work", pointing to a quality of strength and resilience in the face of hardship. This is further indicated as he states: "you proud of knowing that your family can get through that, so like that's what the *kombuis* (kitchen) Afrikaans represents to me, like a sense of honour, like a badge of honour to show that you come out of a, out of a struggle but you not afraid to like showcase like to acknowledge it". Here, the noun phrases "sense of honour" and "badge of honour", imply that to Ivano, Kaaps represents strength in the face of adversity, and points to how his use of Kaaps is an expression of pride. In his explanation of what Kaaps represents to him, Ivano foregrounds his idea of what it means to "struggle" as a coloured individual and places *significance* (Gee 2014b:99) on the hardships endured on a daily basis and the disadvantages that come with being coloured in a post-Apartheid South Africa. He also places *significance* (Gee 2014b:99) on his point that this is what makes him "proud" and, therefore, his use of Kaaps represents an expression of strength and pride.

The data constituting this theme captures the relationships between speech practices and speakers and how experiences with the use of Kaaps and Gayle can be recognised as sites of struggle. The result of this can be viewed as a "utopian sense of language that goes hand in glove with a euphoric, embodied and new sense of self" (Stroud and Williams 2017: 178). The representation of Kaaps and Gayle can be understood as built on the acknowledgement of the voices of those historically oppressed and marginalised. Due to participants' understandings of Kaaps and Gayle as representative of surviving struggle, hardship and oppression, and their views of its use as strategies of resistance and reclamation and as expressions of pride and honour, it can be argued that these ways of speaking incite a "euphoric awareness of those who speak it that things could be different and selves can be refashioned" (Stroud and Williams 2017:186).

5.3. Masking identities

As discussed above, the use of Kaaps and Gayle are frequently used as strategies of identity construction, resistance, and reclamation, and participants often view Kaaps and Gayle as representative of surviving struggle, hardship and oppression. The use of Kaaps and Gayle are

also viewed by participants as expressions of pride. In contrast, the following theme captures the negative ideologies and associations participants have of the use of Kaaps and Gayle, which influence how they construct their sexual, gendered and racial identities. By focusing on the omnipresent impact of dominant heteronormative and racial ideologies on speakers' agentive identity constructions, it is clear that participants often mask their sexual, gendered and racial identities as a result of internalised homophobia and internalised racial prejudice and to avoid homophobia and racism from others. The data indicates that the use of Gayle can be considered as stereotypically associated with a sexualised, gendered, (and sometimes racialised) image, and that Kaaps can be stereotypically associated with a racialised image. The data also points to the intersections of Kaaps and Gayle, as evident in the experiences of the stigmatisation of coloured people and their ways of speaking.

5.3.1. Gay identity

One finding from this study was that many participants conceal their sexual identities by reducing their use of Gayle and sometimes, by replacing it with the use of English. The data reveals that the need to hide their gay identity occurs in spaces where they feel threatened, and uncomfortable, and in spaces where they are vulnerable to being judged negatively or face ridicule due to the negative ideologies surrounding Gayle.

52) **Brent**: "… I feel like even though I like I know okay you're gay and I've made peace with that fact, I'm still not one hundred percent comfortable with it and that's why I feel like when I feel like I want to partake in Gayle or like learn Gayle it's like okay now you're like EMBRACING like you are gay gay and I don't know I just I know I am but it's just like I still can't make peace with it, I can't explain, I've made peace with it (.) but it's like internalised homophobia basically, I still battle with that internalised homophobia"
53) **Devin**: "…when I use Gayle with my family, my mommy can, my mother can speak it like somewhat okay ish, but she don't like me speaking it, she finds a problem with me speaking it… she feels like it's some sort of degrading and like it's not who I am apparently but I feel like it's who I am like I always have this argument with her but like it has nothing to do with you, this is me, this is what I want to identify as"
54) **Devin**: "…I've been observing, I don't know if this is like off the topic, but…if you gay and you are masculine, it's more acceptable within society, but if you are gay and you are feminine, it's more of a sshh, more of a big thing, it's taboo, what are you doing,

right so I think that is also, goes hand-in-hand with that if you speak Gayle, it goes with the feminine side and it will be like taboo it will be like what are you doing with your life type of thing…"

55) **Fabian**: "…whenever Gayle is or would be spoken, it would be looked down upon, because it's associated with gayness or gay culture…" (interview 6 pg 6).

56) **Gino**: "…it happens in a lot of spaces like especially spaces where you feel not just threatened, but where you feel you not comfortable, like…when I go out maybe to campus or where ever, I feel, I know there's a lot of people and I sometimes feel so anxious of my surroundings so I rather keep that or suppress that identity…I think it depends on uhm in the environment that you are in so uhm that plays also a role in your using of the language that you feel is associated with your identity so sometimes some spaces is like, some spaces is where some people won't allow it…"

57) **Ivano**: "…I feel that there's moments in my life where I have to like dial it down a little bit so like my Gayle sometimes I would dial down so instead of it being Gayle, it would be just normal English…because when I have to dial it down for certain situations, I wouldn't be speaking Gayle to like somebody I just met, I would be speaking English but like… people ask do you sound gay like I don't care if I do but sometimes it like bothers me so I would dial the Gayle down in a way"

It is clear from the data that there are many negative ideologies and associations that influence how participants construct their sexual identity. Devin's statement in (53) points to the negative ideologies surrounding Gayle as he states that his mother does not like it when he speaks Gayle. He explains that "she finds a problem with [him] speaking it" and that "she feels like it's some sort of degrading thing and like it's not who I am apparently". Here, Devin's choice of the adjective "degrading" imply that Gayle is perceived by his mother as humiliating and as an indication of a lack of self-respect. The adverb "apparently" in the declarative phrase "it's not who I am apparently" implies that Devin does not believe this to be true and that Gayle is indeed representative of who he is. The negative ideologies surrounding Gayle are echoed by Fabian in his statement in (55) as he states that Gayle is often "looked down upon because it's associated with gayness or gay culture". Here, the metaphorical verb phrase "looked down upon" implies that speakers of Gayle are often belittled by those who know that it is part of "gay culture" and that it is used to express "gayness".

Similarly, when Gino was asked if there are instances where he feels the need to foreground one representation of who he is over another, he stated in (56): "it happens in a lot of spaces like especially spaces where you feel not just threatened, but where you feel you not comfortable" and further argued that this "plays also a role in your using of the language that you feel is associated with your identity". He also stated that there are "some spaces where some people won't allow it" where "it" refers to his gay identity and the use of Gayle. Here, the "people" that Gino is referring to are presumably homophobic people and the "spaces" that he is referring to are presumably spaces where homophobia is present.

Motschenbacher (2011:158) argues that heteronormativity[14] is a "discursively shaped burden" which results in queer people hiding their identities and dealing with personal struggles, such as the difficulty of 'coming out' due (internalised) homophobia and prejudice. This is evident in the extracts above as it indicates a sense of struggle in participants' decision of whether or not to mask their gay identities by reducing the use of Gayle. When speaking about his gay identity and his decision not to learn and use Gayle in (52), Brent states: "I still can't make peace with it… I can't explain, I've made peace with it (.) but it's like internalised homophobia basically, I still battle with that internalised homophobia", where the contradictory verb phrases "can't make peace with it, and then "I've made peace with it" imply a sense of struggle. This sense of struggle is also implied by the repetition of the adverb "can't", and by the nouns "peace" and "battle", and where the pronoun "it" refers to his gay identity. He also explains that expressing his gay identity through Gayle entails being "one hundred percent comfortable with it". This phrase further implies that there is a *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between the fact that he has not yet reached this level of acceptance due to his struggle with internalised homophobia and the reason why he chooses not to use Gayle. Moreover, in (54) Devin states: "if you gay and you are masculine, it's more acceptable within society, but if you are gay and you are feminine, it's more of a sshh, more of a big thing, it's taboo", where the interjection "sshh" and the nouns "big thing" and "taboo" imply that being gay and feminine is often viewed as unacceptable and intolerable. He further states that "if you speak Gayle, it goes with the feminine side and it will be like taboo, it will be like what are you doing with your life type of thing", implying a *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between Gayle and femininity. The interrogative phrase "like what are you doing with your life type of thing" implies that using Gayle and being

[14] Heteronormativity can be defined as a hegemonic social system of practices, rules, and discourses that construct heterosexuality as natural, normal and better than all other forms of sexuality (Robinson 2016: *Abstract*).

feminine means that you are doing something wrong in the way that you are living your life. These findings can be tied to Milani's concept of "straight acting" which refers to "a homosexual mirror image of "heterosexual hegemonic masculinity" (Milani 2013:625). Milani (2013:625) explains that the existence and perpetuation of these hegemonies of masculinity demand femininity to be strongly and openly rejected. It can therefore be argued that participants' avoidance of Gayle and the fact that they sometimes conceal their sexual identities in spaces where homophobia may be present can be understood as a strategy of complying with the homonormative[15] ideals of society in order to avoid homophobic backlash, ridicule, or judgement.

Furthermore, Ivano's inclusion of Gayle on his language portrait is represented in the hand going up and the hand going down, as depicted below in figure 5 (and in appendix F). What is relevant here is the inclusion of Gayle represented on the hand going down as it depicts "moments in [his] life" where he would "dial the Gayle down" as seen in (57), which implies that there are instances where he would reduce his use of Gayle. His reason for this is that sometimes sounding gay "bothers" him. He further states: "I wouldn't be speaking Gayle to like somebody I just met, I would be speaking English", implying that Gayle is only spoken to those who know that he is gay and English is often spoken to those who do not. This suggests that the use of English is often used to mask his gay identity.

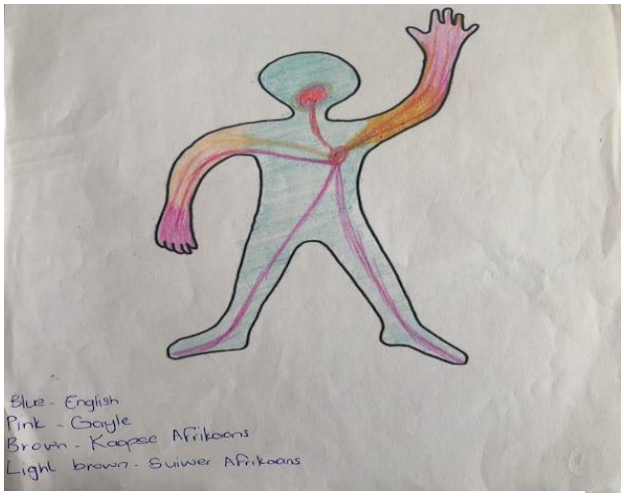

Figure 5: Ivano's language portrait

From an intersectional perspective, it is clear that the use of Gayle is stereotypically associated with a racialised, sexualised and gendered image, which are all entangled. Nuttall (2009:1)

[15] Homonormativity can be defined as the belief that sexual minorities must conform to heteronormative standards in order to gain greater acceptance into mainstream society (Robinson 2016: *Abstract*).

describes entanglement as state of being involved with, interweaved, or together. It points to "an intimacy gained", whether or not it is rejected, ignored, or resisted. It is a concept used to point to "a relationship or a set of social relationships that is complicated, ensnaring, in a tangle, but which also implies a human foldedness" (Nuttall 2009:1). These findings, pointing to the entanglement of race, sex and gender, can be tied to Irvine and Gal's (2000:37) semiotic process of "iconization" which is a means by which individuals create ideological representations of linguistic differences. It refers to how "linguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence" (Irvine and Gal 2000:37). Through choosing linguistic features in specific speech practices that are apparently shared by the linguistic image and the social image, the ideological representation ties them together as an interconnection that seems to be inherent (Irvine and Gal 2000:38). Firstly, Devin's point in (60), which is discussed in the next section, implies that the negative image associated with the use of Kaaps plays a role in the negative image associated with the use of Gayle, as both varieties are spoken by coloured people. This indicates that the use of Gayle can be considered as stereotypically associated with a racialised image, involving the stigmatisation of coloured people and their ways of speaking. Secondly, in (52) Brent highlights his struggle with "internalised homophobia" as a reason for not learning and using Gayle, and in (55), Fabian argues that the use of Gayle is often "looked down upon" because of its association with "gayness" and "gay culture". This indicates that Gayle is stereotypically associated with a sexualised image involving heteronormative ideals where a man should be attracted to a woman and if not, he is considered as "not normal" and as not a "real" man. Thirdly, in (72), Devin describes Gayle's association with femininity as "taboo" and uses the interjection "sshh" to imply that this is not something to be proud of. He also argues that being gay and masculine is more "acceptable" in society. It can thus be argued that Gayle is also stereotypically associated with a gendered image involving homonormative ideals where a gay or feminine man is considered not a "real" man. Taking this into consideration, it is clear that participants' reasons for concealing their sexual identities and for deciding not to use Gayle in specific spaces or around specific people cannot be understood as resulting from different or separate sources of discrimination (Crenshaw 1989:140). The data indicates that racial, sexual, and gendered discrimination all contribute to participants' decision of when and where, and whether or not to use Gayle and display their sexual identities.

From the above discussions, which focus on the impact of heteronormativity on speakers' identity constructions, it can be argued that the fluid, negotiated characteristics of identity can be seen in how participants choose when and where to use Gayle, as they hide their sexual identities in spaces where they feel threatened or uncomfortable, and usually do not speak Gayle and do not put their sexual identities on display in front of homophobic people and people who they do not know, as indicated in the extracts above. This further point to the influence of heteronormativity and homonormativity on participants' construction of their sexual and gendered identities. The negotiated characteristic of identity can also be seen in participants' struggle of deciding whether or not to conceal their sexual identities, and the entanglement of their racial, sexual and gendered identities in making this decision, as discussed above. This aligns with Hall's (1996:17) argument that identity is something which is constructed across various, often intersecting, and contrasting discourses and positions. The responses above can also be tied to Schilling's (2011:219) claim that individuals are not entirely free to construct any kind of identity or use any language features they want as they are restricted by social forces such as stereotypes for 'appropriate' gender/sexual roles and relations, and societal norms and expectations.

5.3.2. Coloured identity

Like with Gayle and gay identity, the data also revealed a pattern that indicates that because of the negative ideologies surrounding Kaaps and coloured identity, participants are fearful of being judged negatively, as shown in the extracts below. Even though Kaaps is considered as a very important and expressive way of speaking and participants express positive feelings about speaking it, it seems that the negative ideologies surrounding Kaaps and coloured identity often overpower these feelings. Some participants do not explicitly state that they mask their coloured identities in certain situations, however, when looking at the data in theme 5.1.1, which point to the use and dominance of English as an attempt to present themselves as professional or educated individuals, it is clear that participants do not feel the same way about Kaaps. Instead, they frequently emphasise the negative perceptions of Kaaps and what it means for how they are viewed when speaking it.

58) **Brent**: "…I feel like people will give Kaaps a bad rep (reputation) because people are like oh you speak Kaaps, it means you are uneducated, you don't know how to speak English properly…like people normally link the coloured identity also to like gangsterism and like drugs and alcohol and things like that and that's not the case,

and…because Kaaps is like an extension of the coloured identity…they link it together, so it's like oh we speak Kaaps so it means you are like affiliated with a gang or something of that nature (.)"

59) **Chad**: "…sometimes neh uhm I form part of that because then sometimes like my colleague will speak Kaaps and I'm like *nee, dis nie Afrikaans nie, ons praat soe hier* (no that's not Afrikaans, we speak like this here)…but I do believe each and every one of us, we have a sense of internalised uhm prejudice…"

60) **Devin**: "…because of that connection also between Gayle and Kaaps, Kaaps already also has that negative connotation that uhm bad thing attached to it so that is why it is also that similar bad characteristics that it has together so that is why those English upbringing uhm gay individuals they would always look down on it when they hear it for the first time because they not use to it uhm, and it's also because of the connection that it's negative because it's *like jy's ń vuil moffie, jy is dai* (you're a dirty moffie, you are that)…"

61) **Ernie**: "…with the Kaaps as a whole thing, they think it's gangster language…"

62) **Haden**:" Because I feel like, imagine now I must speak to a white person with my *kombuistaal* (kitchen language) then they gonna (going to) judge me… because now they think oh this is a stupid guy or he can't, you know, or something like that"

Participants often highlight how speaking Kaaps leads to perceptions of inferiority. Several responses suggested awareness of the stigmatisation of Kaaps and coloured identity in participants' everyday lives, including Brent, who states in (58) that people believe that speaking Kaaps means that "you are uneducated" and that "you don't know how to speak English properly". Here, Brent makes an explicit *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between speaking Kaaps and being perceived as "uneducated" and not knowing "how to speak English properly", implying that being educated and speaking English "properly" means not speaking Kaaps. Furthermore, during a brief discussion with Chad about internalised prejudice, in (59), he states: "I form part of that because then sometimes like my colleague will speak Kaaps and I'm like *nee, dis nie Afrikaans nie, ons praat soe hier* (no, that's not Afrikaans, we speak like this here)… but I do believe each and every one of us, we have a sense of internalised uhm prejudice". Chad's statement explaining his internalised prejudice with Kaaps indicates that, just like Brent described in (58) that internalised homophobia is one of the reasons for him not speaking Gayle, it is also internalised racial prejudice that makes Chad want to speak "proper" Afrikaans and not Kaaps.

Furthermore, in (60), Devin argues that it is because of the negative perceptions people have of Kaaps that causes the negative perceptions people have of Gayle, as discussed above in the subtheme 5.3.1. He states: "Kaaps already also has that negative connotation that uhm bad thing attached to it" and further argues: "that is why those English upbringing uhm gay individuals they would always look down on it when they hear it". Here, the adjectives "negative" and "bad" and the metaphorical phrase "look down on" implies that Gayle is often viewed in a negative light and is often belittled, presumably by white English-speaking gay men as implied by the noun phrase "English upbringing uhm gay individuals". Devin's use of the adverb "already", the adjective "similar", the adverb "together", and the repetition of the noun "connection" in (60) foregrounds his point that Kaaps's negative image plays a role in Gayle's negative image and that this is why they are viewed as "*vuil moffie[s]*", which translates to dirty effeminate/gay men. This reflects the entanglement of Devin's racialised and sexualised identity as he is not only fearful of being judged based on his race, but at the same time, he is fearful of being judged based on his sexuality because of his race, and this entanglement clearly indicates that the construction of his sexual identity is majorly influenced by the construction of his racial identity.

Participants also point to how Kaaps is often associated with gangsterism and drugs. In (58), Brent argues: "people normally link the coloured identity also to like gangsterism and like drugs and alcohol and things like that", where the adverb "normally" implies that these ideologies occur quite often. He goes on to say that "Kaaps is like an extension of the coloured identity", and that speaking Kaaps is often perceived to be associated with being "affiliated with a gang or something of that nature(.)". Brent places *significance* (Gee 2014b:99) on the fact that coloured people are often viewed as gangsters and as drug and alcohol addicts or dealers, and that Kaaps is also reflective of this as it is a representation of coloured identity. Brent also makes an explicit *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between being coloured, speaking Kaaps and being viewed as a gangster. This is evident in the verb "link" in the declarative phrase "they link it together, so it's like oh we speak Kaaps so it means you are like affiliated with a gang or something of that nature(.)". This sentiment is echoed by Ernie in (61) as he states: "with the Kaaps as a whole thing, they think it's gangster language", where the noun phrase "Kaaps as a whole thing" refers to its role in coloured representation, implying that because coloured people are perceived to be associated with gangsterism, so are the languages they speak. Brent's use of the declarative phrase "that's not the case" in (58) and Ernie's use of the verb phrase "they think" in (61), imply that they do not believe this to be true and that they are highlighting the

fact that these are the perceptions people have of coloured individuals who speak Kaaps. While it is true that Kaaps words are linked to the "Cape underworld" (alcohol and drugs, gang activities and prison life), based on the sociopolitical history of Kaaps as an inferior, uncivilised, street language (see Ponelis 1994:107;Van Rensburg 1999:81 cited in van Heerden (2016:44-43), these responses reflect how Apartheid ideologies and the manifestation of Afrikaner nationalism, as discussed in chapter 2, promoted the stigmatisation of Kaaps and encouraged discrimination toward its speakers (Hendricks 2016:33).

Furthermore, when Haden was asked why he felt the need to speak "proper" English at work, he replied, as seen in (62): "imagine now I must speak to a white person with my *kombuistaal* (kitchen language)", where the verb "imagine" implies that speaking Kaaps at work to a white person is not realistic. He further states if he speaks Kaaps, he will be perceived as a "stupid guy". It can thus be argued that there are times and places where participants mask their identities as coloured individuals as they are fearful of being perceived as "uneducated", "stupid", or as a person associated with gangsterism, drugs and alcohol.

Looking at these responses through a raciolinguistic lens, and more particularly, through the lens of racial malleability, it can be argued that participants often make linguistic racial shifts in their daily interactions (Roth-Gordon 2016:54). It can also be argued that the perceptions of Kaaps remain negative in the present-day. This is evident as participants talk about how Kaaps is often associated with gangsterism, alcohol and drugs and how they are often unfairly discriminated against and judged when speaking Kaaps. They also highlight how Kaaps is frequently associated with being "stupid" or "uneducated". Chad's discussion about his internalised prejudice in (59) and Haden's decision in (62) not to speak Kaaps at work, where most of his customers are white, point to how it is implicitly imperative for participants, as coloured individuals, to act "whiter" in order to lessen the effects of racism (Roth-Gordon 2016:52). Participants' responses very clearly point to the raciolinguistic discrimination that they experience as they frequently highlight the negative perceptions of Kaaps, and what speaking it means for how they are viewed, as can be seen in (58)-(62). It is the raciolinguistic discrimination that causes them to adopt practices perceived to be related to whiteness, such as speaking "properly" or "fluently", in an attempt to distance themselves from the stigma of colouredness (Roth-Gordon 2016:54). It can thus be argued that participants embrace a specific set of raciolinguistic ideologies (Flores and Rosa 2015) that marginalise the linguistic

competence of themselves as racialised speakers and which simultaneously favour white ways of speaking.

5.4. Languages of desire

Apart from the prominence of topics surrounding English, Afrikaans, Kaaps and Gayle, in the language portrait and interview data, the data found recurring patterns which indicate that participants express a desire to learn African languages, especially isiXhosa, and that they are open to learning new European languages other than English.

63) **Brent**: "…the reason why I put Spanish there is because…I want Spanish to be an extension of myself, because that's something I want to learn and it's something I want to like acquire…I know a few phrases and like words and stuff…"
64) **Chad**: "…yes so SASL is my passion and…it opened another::: uhm pathway to uhm the deaf community, you see, for me to be able to help someone… so to voice the deaf and dumb and then I also had to interpret what they were saying and the case and so (.)"
65) **Chad**: "…I placed it in hm, both arms because I believe that even though I've been taught and I learned and I can have like a conversation in Setswana, Sesotho and isiXhosa (.) but the thing is though I still, there's still room left to grow"
66) **Chad**: "But I'm more confident so Xhosa I do understand but (.) I don't feel as confident or you know, yah I don't feel as confident speaking it and because of the clicking, Sotho has also a click but it's not like constant you know like (.)Setswana mm, I love it, I absolutely love it, I said if God willingly, I find myself a Tswana husband or something you know…"
67) **Devin**: "I try to speak in some vernacular language but because I'm not very fluent in it I didn't put it in there because I've done like modules on a certain vernacular language like isiXhosa like that but I'm not like fluent, very fluent in it, I ignored it and sometimes I do express myself in those languages I try to cause I, because we live in South Africa and we have eleven official languages and I, I'm a very inclusive person so I try to then accommodate and adjust myself to who I'm speaking to so if I, if I can I would at least try but because it's not like something I'm very hundred percent sure about, in terms of like English, Afrikaans and Gayle and those, I didn't add it in"
68) **Gino**: "….I have blue which indicates Xhosa, it is a language that I always wanted to learn and speak because I use to work with people that spoke Xhosa, and every day they would teach me some words, so I was very fascinated and also because I have family

members that are isiXhosa speaking, so that is why I came to university and I took isiXhosa from first year, second year and I did in the third year …"

69) **Gino**: "…for me, Spanish is a language I also wanted to learn like, because it's so beautiful so that's why I put purple, and red is German uhm I have a family that lives in Germany so that is also one of the reasons why I wanna (want to) learn German, so I have a basic understanding like greetings and stuff uhm brown is French uhm it's also a beautiful language the language of love…"

One of the findings from this study is that participants frequently express a desire to learn languages for the purposes of communicating with, or helping others, or because it is viewed as "beautiful". The latter particularly seems to be the case when talking about European languages, other than English.

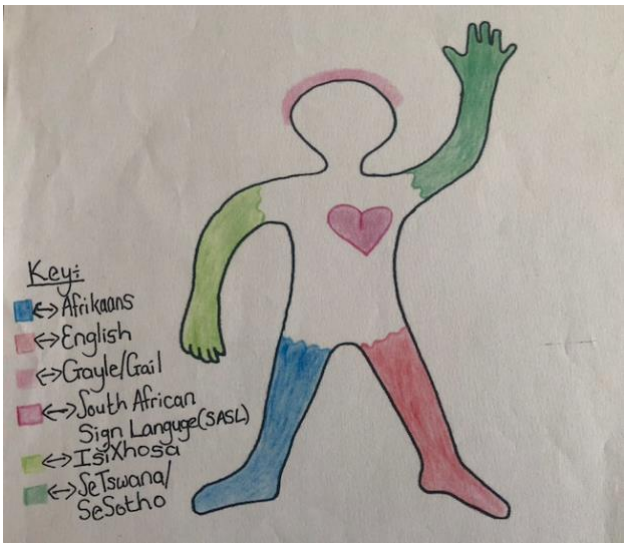

Figure 6: Chad's language portrait

Unlike in Bristowe et al.'s (2014:237) study, where African languages "do not really feature" in participants discussions surrounding their desire to learn new languages, this study found that participants also often express a desire to learn African languages, such as isiXhosa, Setswana, Sesotho, and South African Sign Language. As shown in figure 6 above (and in appendix F), Chad drew a heart to represent South African Sign Language, and in his interview, he highlighted that he is a "deaf education teacher". In (64), he describes South African Sign Language as his "passion". He further states: "it opened another::: uhm pathway to uhm the deaf community, you see, for me to be able to help someone", implying that South African Sign Language opened doors for him in terms of helping the "deaf community" and being able to communicate with them. This is further implied by the metaphor "to voice the deaf and

dumb[16]", which suggests that a reason for learning South African Sign Language was to be a voice for those who are unable to hear and speak.

In (65), Chad also readily admits that although he has learned Setswana, Sesotho and isiXhosa, "there's still room left to grow", acknowledging that he is not yet proficient in these ways of speaking. In (66), he explains that he is not very confident using isiXhosa "because of the clicking" and further states: "Sotho has also a click but it's not like constant". Here, Chad makes a *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between not being confident using isiXhosa and the pronunciation thereof. He also very explicitly expresses his love for Setswana, stating: "I love it, I absolutely love it, I said if God willingly, I find myself a Tswana husband or something you know", where the adverb "absolutely" places *significance* (Gee 2014b:99) on the love he has for Setswana. This is further implied as he states: "God willingly, I find myself a Tswana husband", where the use of the phrase "God willingly" emphasises his desire to find a "Tswana husband" because of his love for the language.

As discussed above, the data constituting this theme indicates that many participants' decision and desire to learn new languages, whether African or European, have to do with being able to communicate with others, although they do not consider themselves to be proficient in these ways of speaking. This points to the various linguistic resources in modern multilingual communities. Moreover, during the interview, Devin was asked if there were any languages that he knows but did not include on his language portrait and he specifically spoke about isiXhosa. In (67), Devin highlights that he has learned isiXhosa but also states: "I'm not like fluent, very fluent in it, I ignored it", emphasising that because he was not proficient in it, he did not speak it much and therefore "ignored it" when completing his language portrait. Here, we can understand participants' linguistic repertoires as "truncated multilingualism" (Blommaert 2010:23) as these findings point to the "bits and pieces" of language that participants know and to the diversity of resources in multilingual communities.

In addition, in (67) Devin also states: "sometimes I do express myself in those languages, I try to cause I, because we live in South Africa and we have eleven official languages and I, I'm a very inclusive person so I try to then accommodate and adjust myself to who I'm speaking to". Here, Devin makes the *connection* between residing in a place where multilingualism is

[16] As these interviews were transcribed verbatim, I am acknowledging that "dumb" is a contested term and in no way reflects the learning, reasoning, and communicative abilities of those who struggle or are unable to hear.

prevalent, and trying to speak isiXhosa, again pointing to the influence of being able to communicate with others on participants' decisions and desires to learn new languages. This is further indicated by the adjective "inclusive" and the verbs "adjust" and "accommodate" in (67), which can be tied to Blommaert's (2009:425) notion of "mobile speech", as these words imply a belief that being inclusive means being able to adjust and expand one's repertoire to achieve mutual understanding with another. This points to the importance of understanding the repertoire as something that is created and used in intersubjective processes situated on the border between the self and the other (Busch 2017:346). This is further evident in (68) as Gino explains why he learned isiXhosa for three years at university and why he wants to continue learning it. He states: "because I use to work with people that spoke Xhosa, and every day they would teach me some words, so I was very fascinated and also because I have family members that are isiXhosa speaking". Here, he places *significance* (Gee 2014b:99) on the fact that isiXhosa is part of his surroundings and makes a *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between this and his desire to learn more. Moreover, the adjective "fascinated" further implies that he has a very strong interest in learning isiXhosa.

Furthermore, in (63), Brent states that he included Spanish on his language portrait because it is something he wants to learn. However, he notes that he only "know[s] a few phrases and like words and stuff", implying that he is not proficient in Spanish. Similarly, in (69), Gino states: "for me, Spanish is a language I also wanted to learn like, because it's so beautiful" implying a *connection* (Gee 2014a:96) between his desire to learn Spanish and it being viewed as "beautiful". Gino also included French and German on his language portrait. In (69), he states that French is "also a beautiful language" and that it is "the language of love". Additionally, in explaining his reason for wanting to learn German, he states: "I have a family that lives in Germany", suggesting a desire to communicate with his family using German. Here, participants desire to learn new European languages, other than English, have a lot to do with how they perceive them as languages of beauty and with wanting to communicate with others.

Busch (2012:521) explains that "the linguistic repertoire also points forwards, because ideas, desires, and imaginations that are also linked to language come to the surface". It can therefore be argued that the findings constituting this theme are compatible with a repertoire approach as participants often express the desire to learn and improve their proficiency in particular languages. Participants' responses surrounding futurity highlights "aspiration, desire and the influence of linguistic ideologies" (Bristowe et al. 2014:237). As discussed above, although

their desire comes from a need to communicate with others, participants also frequently highlight how they do not fully know and understand these ways of speaking, and that sometimes, this is the reason why they have not included it on their language portraits. This points to the importance of understanding multilingualism as situated practices instead of abstract and complete competences that a speaker acquires (Busch 2006: 8).

5.5. Conclusion

It is clear from the data that English, Afrikaans, Gayle and Kaaps are the primary ways of speaking that make up the linguistic repertoires of coloured gay men who participated in this study. Participants are shown to have a pragmatic approach to English as it is used to foreground a professional identity. Participants' use of English often function to lessen the stigma of their racial and sexual identities in situations where they want to be perceived as successful, intelligent, and educated. Afrikaans, however, is considered as unimportant and is not used often. Instead, it inevitably forms part of their linguistic repertoires due to the fact that it is part of their surroundings and is only spoken when necessary for communication and understanding with others who speak it. It is also not considered representative of any part of participants' identities. In fact, participants often describe a need to be viewed as different from those who speak it because of its sociopolitical history of oppression and marginalisation. The use of both English and Afrikaans are shown to result in feelings of anxiety and fear of judgement, which reflect language ideologies surrounding dominance and normativity.

Kaaps and Gayle are the ways of speaking that participants display the most emotional attachment to, and that play a major role in their everyday lives. These ways of speaking are used to engage in processes of identity construction and is often associated with a sense of belonging and a sense of freedom from the normative linguistic practices and behaviours. These ways of speaking are used by participants to perform race, gender and sexuality in ways that subvert the norm. Kaaps and Gayle are often shown to indicate surviving struggle, hardship, and oppression, and are often used as strategies of resistance, reclamation and empowerment. On the contrary, however, participants also point to the negative ideologies associated with the use of Kaaps and Gayle, which influence the construction of their identities. The avoidance of Kaaps and Gayle points to how participants often mask their sexual, gendered, and racial identities as a result of (internalised) homophobia and (internalised) racism.

While the use of and attitudes to English, Afrikaans, Kaaps and Gayle seems to be given a lot of prominence and volume in discussions surrounding participants' linguistic repertoires, the data also shows that participants desire and are open to learning new languages or improving proficiency in specific languages. These desires come from wanting to be able to communicate with others, pointing to the need for participants to adjust and expand their linguistic repertoires in order to achieve mutual understanding with others.

Chapter 6: Discussion and conclusion

This chapter will provide a discussion of the findings that have emerged from the data that was analysed in the previous chapter. It will also provide an overview of the strengths and limitations of this study and make recommendations for future studies.

6.1. Discussion

The following section focusses on the ways in which the findings from this study compare to the findings of other studies discussed in chapter 2, and to various theoretical concepts discussed in chapter 3.

6.1.1. The linguistic repertoires of coloured gay men

This study captures the complexity of the linguistic repertoires used by participants to position themselves in relation to their social environments. An analysis of the data indicates that English, Afrikaans, Kaaps, and Gayle can be considered as the primary ways of speaking that make up the linguistic repertoires of participants in this study. Since no published research focused on the use of Gayle and Kaaps alongside one another and alongside other languages, this finding aligns with Mulligan's (2018:27) claim that that more often than not, coloured gay men speak English, Afrikaans and Kaaps, and that Gayle is embedded into this structure. The data also aligns with her claim that this structure forms part of their everyday life as a means to access different identities, display deference, express emotions, and/or to accommodate or build a social barrier (Mulligan 2018:27).

6.1.2. The complexity of the functions of coloured gay men's linguistic repertoires

The data from the current study found that English, Afrikaans, Kaaps and Gayle are not used to the same degree and often serve different purposes, and although participants acknowledge that they are not equally proficient in all of the ways of speaking that make up their linguistic repertoires, English, Afrikaans, Kaaps and Gayle are nonetheless the ways of speaking that are discussed and given prominence throughout the data. The analysis done in the previous chapter aimed at providing insight into participants' linguistic repertoires, and the ideologies, attitudes and affective dimensions that shape it, which led to an understanding of the multidimensional nature of participants' identities and the complexity of the various functions of their linguistic repertoires in their everyday lives. While Afrikaans forms part of their surroundings but is not used often, English is often considered important and is used to foreground a professional

identity. Additionally, English is sometimes used to mask their identities as coloured gay men, while other times, Kaaps and Gayle are used to foreground their identities as coloured gay men. Moreover, Kaaps and Gayle are often used as strategies of resistance and reclamation, and to construct identity and belonging. They also often represent the struggles, hardship and oppression that the participants have experienced as coloured gay men. The attitudes and meanings attached toward these ways of speaking reflect participants' lived experiences. While participants have a pragmatic view of English and hold it in high esteem, Afrikaans is viewed as a language associated with white people. Also, while on the one hand, participants internalise the view of Kaaps and Gayle as inferior ways of speaking that are reflective of one's incompetence and lack of intelligence, they also view it as ways of speaking that are expressive of who they are and regard it as an emblem of pride and honour.

The range of functions regarding participants' linguistic repertoires and the affective dimensions that shape their interactions and perceptions towards and around their linguistic repertoires reflect the resourcefulness, creativity and multiplicity of the linguistic resources that these speakers have access to. It points to Busch's (2017:344) conceptualisation of the repertoire as a whole, which is made up of all of the ways of speaking that shape communication on a daily basis and which speakers draw from as the situation demands. It also points to how sexual and racial discrimination can be viewed as intersecting forms of oppression. Catacutan (2015:np) talks about how the Filipino gay community witness two mechanisms of oppressions; "as a Filipino citizen being subject to a fascist regime, and as a gay man experiencing discrimination because of sexual orientation". Based on the data from this study, it can be argued that the same is true for the coloured gay community in South Africa.

6.1.3. Racial malleability and straight-acting

The avoidance of Kaaps as found in this study can be linked to Roth-Gordon's (2016) concept of "racial malleability", and since Gayle is also associated with coloured identity, its avoidance can also be linked to the concept of "racial malleability". However, Gayle can also be tied to Milani's (2013) concept of "straight-acting". Looking at the avoidance of Kaaps through the lens of racial malleability, it can be argued that participants often adopt perceived "white" linguistic practices and behaviours, such as what is perceived to be speaking 'properly' or 'fluently' in order to lessen the stigma that is linked to coloured identity. It is also adopted to lessen the racial discrimination that is linked to their coloured identity, such as being judged as incompetent, uncivilised and unintelligent, or as someone associated with gangsterism, drugs

and alcohol, as indicated in the data. The data from this study is therefore compatible with Williams's (2016) argument that one of the various post-Apartheid burdens placed on Kaaps speakers is that they are frequently judged based on how mixed or how pure the fluency and proficiency of their language is, rather than on the linguistic resources that construct their language biography. Because this study found that many participants view Kaaps and Gayle as one way of speaking or as ways of speaking that work together, it can be argued that the avoidance of Gayle can also be tied to racial malleability as participants argue that the negative perceptions of Kaaps are sometimes what influence the negative perceptions of Gayle. This points to the entanglement of these ways of speaking and the identity categories associated with it, and how they intersect and mutually constitute one another.

This study also found that participants avoid the use of Gayle in an attempt to hide their sexuality in spaces where homophobia may be present and because it is often associated with femininity, making it less acceptable in society. Thus, looking at the avoidance of Gayle through the lens of straight-acting, it can be argued that participants sometimes reject the negative image that is often linked to their sexual identity, and as such, this avoidance can be understood as a strategy of complying with the heteronormative and homonormative ideals of society. This aligns with Luyt's (2014:54) and with my (Plato 2017:32) findings that Gayle is often avoided in front of those who might not be tolerant of their sexual orientation or behaviour and is reserved for spaces that are considered safe and comfortable. It can be argued that the avoidance of both Kaaps and Gayle can be attributed to speakers' fear of being divided further away from the norms of mainstream society as these ways of speaking may uphold the stereotypical perceptions towards coloured gay men. As such, this may be why participants in this study have conflicting perceptions and opinions towards Kaaps and Gayle.

6.1.4. Language ideologies as part of the linguistic repertoire

This study revealed that participants frequently experience feelings of anxiety and fear of judgement when speaking English and Afrikaans. These feelings and fears can be linked to how speakers experience language ideologies surrounding 'normativity' and how these experiences result in internalised viewpoints about themselves and others as speakers (Busch 2016:7). It can be argued that participants in this study are racialised speakers who are marginalised by raciolinguistic ideologies as they are constructed as speakers who linguistically deviate from what is considered normal or correct. According to Rosa and Flores (2015:150), these constructions are based on the dominant and privileged white views on the linguistic practices

of racialised communities. Moreover, one of the primary findings from this study was that speakers often use English to position themselves as professional, by speaking 'fluently' or 'properly'. It is often used as a tool to avoid being perceived as, or sounding uneducated, incapable, unintelligent, and incompetent, especially in situations where their education or career depends on it. As indicated in this study, these are stereotypes often associated with the use of Kaaps and Gayle. This finding can be traced back to consequences of teaching of the 'standard' in schools, which result in a loss of confidence and in speakers avoiding the use of language varieties like Kaaps and Gayle. This aligns with le Cordeur's (2016:97) claim that actions such as telling students to "speak correctly" is often what disempowers them, and with Willemse's (2016:76) claim that more often than not, Kaaps [and Gayle] speakers choose to speak English in formal contexts because they do not feel confident enough speaking in Afrikaans. Also, just like Msibi's (2013:267) claim that many gay men choose not to use isiNgqumo in professional domains, as it carries the risk of exposure which results in being perceived negatively, the same can be said about coloured gay men choosing not to use Gayle in professional encounters. This study therefore agrees with Willemse's (2016:77) argument that it is important that teaching practices accept and legitimise students' language identity.

Furthermore, and in line with Mashazi and Oostendorp's study (In Press:17), this study revealed that present-day coloured speakers often view Afrikaans as a tool of oppression and as a language associated with white people. This study also revealed that present-day coloured speakers are very much aware of the sociopolitical history Afrikaans and this may be the reason why they view it as a way of speaking that is not representative of their identities as a coloured man, nor as a gay man, and why it plays a very subordinate role in participants' linguistic repertoires. Here, an intersectional and raciolinguistic lens has proved helpful in considering the influence of both sexuality and race on the opinions and linguistic choices of speakers in this study. It can be argued that because standardisation and its linkage to purism played an important role in the construction of a superior white Afrikaner identity (van der Waal 2012:450), these speakers want to be constructed as different. To implement Intersectionality successfully, Levon (2015:302) argues that researchers should, for example, not only investigate features and functions relating to sexuality, but should rather also include an investigation of features and functions that are typically associated with other social systems such as race, and of how those features and functions operate and are utilised in the experience and construction of different sexual positionings. The data shows that participants experience and view Afrikaans as a way of speaking that is not expressive of colouredness, nor of gayness,

pointing to the fact that their racial and sexual identities are what informs their opinions and linguistic choices regarding the use of Afrikaans. Bell and Gibson (2011:561) explain how the notion of identity also involves diverging from others and this can be seen in how speakers construct their identities by positioning themselves as 'not' white and 'not' Afrikaans, and in their willingness to construct themselves as "different" or as "exclusively coloured and gay". The fluidity and flexibility of identity can be seen in how speakers linguistically perform what Barret (1999:323) refers to as "polyphonous identities" - coloured, gay, not white, and not Afrikaans speaking. This further points to how identities, as Bucholtz and Hall (2005:598) states, acquire meaning in relation to other identity positions and how identities are relationally constructed through various, often intersecting, features of the relationship between the self and the other.

6.1.5. Identity performance, belonging, resistance and reclamation

In terms of Kaaps and Gayle, a key finding from this study is that these ways of speaking serve a variety of functions for coloured gay speakers and, more often than not, the functions of Kaaps and Gayle are the same. The data shows that Kaaps and Gayle are often used as linguistic identity performance and as a means of constructing belonging. These ways of speaking are often associated with accepting and being comfortable with oneself. Their use is often shown to result in a sense of freedom or liberation from the 'normative' linguistic conventions that are represented in specific language practices, and they are also used as strategies of resistance and reclamation. Looking at the data through the lens of performativity (Butler 1990; 1993), it can be argued that participants' narratives surrounding Kaaps and Gayle carry strong characteristics of identity performance as the construction of sexuality, gender, and race are repetitions of what is considered the norm and as such, these ways of speaking allow coloured gay speakers to subvert the norms associated with these identity categories.

These findings display links to Shaikjee and Stroud's (2017:1) research which explores the genre of "drag king" performances and how it is used to subvert traditional understandings of gender, sexuality, and race. The aim of their research is to understand to what extent performances of drag, while disrupting and challenging gender stereotypes, nonetheless maintain and reproduce colonialities of race and sexuality. Shaikjee and Stroud (2017:18) argue that the "drag kings" in their study achieve gender subversion through the "invizibilization, stereotyping and reproduction of race", however, while disrupting the colonial ties of sex, gender and race, these performances can also arguably be understood as steadying and

reproducing it. Shaikjee and Stroud (2017:12) explain how one of the performers chose a song as a means to perform a specific kind of dominant, stereotypical masculinity characterised by sexism and misogyny. They argue that while these performances are a "recontexualisation of cultural texts of masculinity, it is also an attempted dismantling" (Shaikjee and Stroud 2017:12). However, just like the use of Kaaps and Gayle, which allow speakers to perform race and gender/sexuality differently, there are occurrences in these drag performances where "intertextual gaps" open and allow performers to deviate from racial stereotypes and as such, perform race and/or sexuality differently. One example from Shaikjee and Stroud's (2017:18) study is when one performer deviates from the drag king convention of singing songs that are usually performed by male artists by choosing to sing a song by a female rapper.

Furthermore, the use of Kaaps and Gayle as linguistic resources can be seen as indexical of a specific characterological figure related to the image of coloured, gay (and sometimes feminine) men. Agha's (2005:38) concept of enregisterment is therefore relevant here as it can be argued that Kaaps and Gayle are indexical of specific features associated with coloured and gay identities, and these indexical connections help these speakers create social meanings. Thus, participants often refer to processes and practices of enregisterment as they make use of linguistic practices which index membership of a group and therefore construct belonging in interaction through mutual understandings of creative linguistic subversions. As Shaikjee and Stroud (2017:21) found that drag performances both "contests and colludes with problematic, normative scrips of masculinity simultaneously", they argue that this further influences the enregisterment of styles linked to the characterological figures of masculinity. They also argue that there is a greater collusion with problematic normative scripts in the preservation of stereotypical racialisations, which points to how the challenging and complicity of stereotypes of masculinity are "undergirded by the reproduction of racial hierarchies".

The various functions of Kaaps and Gayle point to how processes of identity construction are rooted in particular historical backgrounds. Erasmus and Pieterse (1999:181) therefore claim that an approach focusing on coloured [and gay] identities as historically (re)constructed in specific social situations enables one to recognise that processes of coloured [and gay] identity construction can be understood as appropriate processes of identity construction which change according to various places, spaces, and times. The data reveals participants' awareness of both Kaaps and Gayle as marginalised ways of speaking associated with marginalised identities, and also reveals how it represents facing and overcoming (financial) struggle and hardship, but also

how this is what makes them proud. These processes of resistance, reclamation and subversion referred to in the participants' narratives, can also be found in popular culture. This is evidenced by for example how Youngsta CPT's songs promote the use of Kaaps while narrating a story about coloured people and the hardships and suffering they endure on a daily basis (Mkhabela 2019), and how Dope Saint Jude (DSJ) promotes the use of Gayle in her rap songs as a celebration of sexual identity and resistance against processes of exclusion and heteronormative ideals (Haupt 2016:np). Therefore, while Kaaps operates parallel to white, hegemonic ideologies, Gayle operates parallel to heteronormative ideologies, where the use of these ways of speaking refute the negative images and perceptions associated with it. It can be argued that participants use of Kaaps and Gayle as strategies of resistance and reclamation means that they are practicing what Stroud (2001) refers to as linguistic citizenship. In explaining the notion of linguistic citizenship, Stroud (2001:351) states:

> Linguistic citizenship addresses the very real materiality of language in minority politics by attending to the fact that linguistic minorities suffer from both structural and valuational discrimination. In other words, the injustices that befall speakers of minority languages are related to the structural position that they have in the politico-economic order at the same time as these injustices are also clearly a reflex of minority speakers' identities as minority language speakers, as the social structures that minority speakers are part of create conditions of existence which are both material and discursive.

The data ties neatly in with the concept of linguistic citizenship as it points to the role of Kaaps and Gaye as political resources. Speakers in this study express "agency, voice and desire for inclusiveness" in their use of these ways of speaking (Stroud 2015:25) as they use these ways of speaking to establish mutual understanding between its speakers and index group membership while at the same time use it to resist what is normatively and narrowly deemed institutionally appropriate. In discussions around Kaaps and Gayle, participants point to the struggles and hardships as consequences of oppression, yet express pride and honour towards these ways of speaking. The use of Kaaps and Gayle as strategies of resistance and reclamation help participants self-create their identity and allow them to fuse several identities into a new notion of 'coloured gayness' or 'gay colouredness'. Stroud (2015:26) explains how performers in the Afrikaaps musical reconfigure language, and stresses that this is an integral part of contemporary identity politics. The data from this study aligns with this claim as unresolved issues in the representation and practice of both Kaaps and Gayle, as racially and sexually

stigmatised and marginalised ways of speaking, are central to speakers' search for a "politically transformative agency, a new sense of self and future" (Stroud 2015:26). Moreover, the potential of Kaaps and Gayle can be described as "utopic", (Stroud and Williams 2017:185), not yet realised, but giving us glimpses of hope of transformation. Although these ways of speaking continue to co-exist with negative notions of being unprofessional, uneducated, etc., its present usage captures the utopic experience of thinking differently about language.

Much of the data surrounding Kaaps and Gayle as strategies of resistance and reclamation, and their role in identity construction and belonging align with much of the literature on Kaaps and with much of the literature on Gayle (as seen in chapter 2). What is interesting here, however, is that none of the literature on Kaaps, nor on Gayle, focus on how experiences of the one influences and informs experiences and decisions regarding the other. It also does not look into how these ways of speaking are experienced in very similar ways by coloured gay men and how these men implicitly and explicitly point to how the experiences of and feelings associated with these ways of speaking, sometimes as one, are what shapes the construction of their identity as coloured gay men in a post- Apartheid South Africa. It is these experiences expressed by participants in this study that point to the importance of not reducing identity to sexuality, or to race, but to rather focus on the ideological, historical, linguistic and social relationships between these categories and the various lived articulations thereof (Levon 2015:303). The importance of these relationships is evident, for example, in how participants talk about the word *moffie*; it is not only used to speak about how the notion of 'gayness' or 'colourdness' is (re)constructed and self- created but at the same time, it is used to speak about how the notion of 'coloured gayness' or 'gay colouredness' is (re)constructed and self-created in the present day. As such, identity can be viewed as a site of resistance, reclamation and empowerment for participants in this study.

6.1.6. Desire as part of the linguistic repertoire

Another interesting finding from this study is that participants often express the desire to learn, and improve their proficiency in, particular languages. Participants' decisions and desire to learn new languages, whether African or European, have to do with being able to communicate with others, highlighting how their linguistic repertoires are used to position themselves in relation to their social environment. However, discussions around proficiency and pronunciation seems to be given prominence in the data. Participants' linguistic repertoires and the ideologies and affective dimensions that shape their interactions and experiences, point to

the importance of understanding language and multilingualism as situated practices instead of abstract and complete competences that a speaker acquires (Busch 2006: 8). As Blommaert (2010:23) states: "we never know all of a language; we always know specific bits and pieces of it". It is these bits and pieces that also make up participants' linguistic repertoires. In addition, as the data from this finding focusses on desire to learn and also to improve proficiency, it fits with a repertoire approach as the linguistic repertoires are said to also point to futurity, highlighting desire and the influence of linguistic ideologies (Busch 2012:521).

6.2. Strengths and Limitations

One strength of this study is its emphasis on not viewing participants in this study as speakers of Kaaps 'only' or of Gayle 'only', and its focus on not reducing identity 'only' to being coloured or to being gay. Through this, new insight has been gained with regards to how participants view and experience language and what it means for their identities as coloured gay men in a post- Apartheid South Africa. In line with its aims, this study has shed some light on the diversity, creativity, and adaptability of the linguistic resources that many coloured gay men in South Africa have access to. This study has also considered the fact that Apartheid was primarily a "spatial strategy" (Tucker 2009:3), and as such, gay South African men were divided in terms of racial classifications, which resulted in different experiences of sexuality for different racial groups. Thus, this study contributes to the body of research on Gayle and on Kaaps since existing literature does not focus enough on coloured experiences of being gay, nor on gay experiences of being coloured in a post-Apartheid South Africa.

Furthermore, the use of language portraits as multimodal research instruments enabled a deeper understanding of the linguistic repertoire across a lifetime which in turn enabled a deeper understanding of the entanglements of language and other social factors such as race, gender, sexuality, etc. It enabled experiences, which reflect the intersections of Kaaps and Gayle as stigmatised and marginalised ways of speaking associated with stigmatised and marginalised identities, to come to light. This was achieved by allowing participants, as the experiencing subjects, to narrate their own feelings, attitudes, and stories and as such, be co-constructers of the knowledge produced in this study. This study therefore adds to the body of knowledge which acknowledges the flexibility, fluidity and temporality of identities and which stresses the usefulness and importance of the first-person perspective in the social sciences.

Reflecting on the research process as a whole, which was almost entirely completed during wave 1 and 2 of the covid-19 pandemic, one thing must be noted. The data from this study was intended to come from the language portraits, interviews, and a focus group. However, due to covid-19 preventative measures that were put in place, no focus group could take place. A virtual focus group was considered as an alternative, but experiences with previous focus groups (talking over one another, screaming, moving a lot) is what influenced my decision to avoid it completely. Even though rich data have been produced through the language portraits and one-on-one interviews, the aim was to also distribute a list of prompts to those who were selected for the focus group, so that they have a chance to reflect on particular aspects of identity-linked linguistic practices before the focus group took place.

The aim of the focus group was also to focus on coloured and gay identity and the linguistic performance thereof, and to see how the influence of other Kaaps and/or Gayle speakers may impact responses or create further discussion. The overall aim was therefore to see if patterns of intersectionality of Kaaps and Gayle, with regards identity, would be elicited. Although the prompts were nonetheless elicited during the one-on-one interviews, the nature of a focus group interaction could result in making visible the influences of others' opinions and attitudes toward and around these ways of speaking. Based on the aims of the focus group prompts and upon reflection of the research process, I would argue that the focus group could have been beneficial for eliciting more in-depth discussions around the intersectional experiences of race, sexuality, and perhaps gender, and around the multiple identities that participants lay claim to, construct, challenge or deny.

6.3. Future studies

Since the data from this study revealed interesting findings about the linguistic repertoires of coloured gay men, how they experience it, and what it means for them, with a study of a much broader scope, a lot could still be uncovered about Kaaps and Gayle and its usefulness and creativity in identity construction. Looking at the construction of identities and the use of linguistic resources by coloured gay men in real life interactions for example, be it face-to-face or virtually, could elicit more underlying patterns and result in a deeper knowledge and understanding of coloured gay mens' linguistic repertoires. Another interesting topic that can add to the body of knowledge on Kaaps and on Gayle, and that can be explored is how both Kaaps and Gayle (together, and separately) are represented in literature and popular culture. As there remains a lack of identity-based research that looks at the creativity of Kaaps and Gayle

together, rather than as completely separate, a study even more focused on the intersectional experience could be beneficial for understanding the intersectional experience of interlocking racial, gendered, and sexual oppression. Even more interesting for prospective studies would be an intergenerational study of lived language experiences, which investigates the differences and similarities of those who have first-hand experience of being coloured and gay during Apartheid and those who experience being coloured and gay in a post-Apartheid South Africa.

6.4. Concluding remarks

This study has taken an intersectional approach by firstly focusing on the marginalised "lived experiences" (Levon 2015:297) of participants, and by not focusing on specific ideologies, influences and categories in isolation. Secondly, this study takes into account the "dynamism" (Levon 2015:297) of intersections and how they develop in particular interactional, social and historical organisations, by adopting a person-centred approach. Thirdly, this study also considers how specific ideologies, influences and categories "mutually constitute" (Levon 2015:298) one another by looking at how sexuality and gender, for example, as a structure of society, is also expressed in race-based terms.

The data from the study points to a different understanding of language and multilingualism and aligns with a repertoire approach, which views participants' linguistic repertoires as heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981), where linguistic diversity is recognised as an array of discourses in relation to which we position ourselves, as voices which are appropriated as styles, and as language varieties which reflect socio-cultural spaces (Busch 2016:7). Linking participants' linguistic repertoires to their life trajectories through data which foregrounds the voices and perspectives of participants made it possible to unpack the (conflicting) attitudes of participants towards the ways of speaking that make up their linguistic repertoires, specifically that of Kaaps and Gayle. This is clearly demonstrated in how participants speak about how they make use of English and avoid Kaaps and Gayle in specific situations in order to perform identities that are socially desirable and to avoid discrimination, and how they use them in other situations as a form of reclamation and resistance against the dominant norms of society. All of the ways of speaking evident in the data, except Afrikaans, are what participants use to construct their identities. It is the various ways that they use these ways of speaking to construct identity and the different functions thereof at different times which demonstrate how identities are historically (re)constructed in specific social situations and how processes of identity construction change according to various environments. It is clear that the affective dimensions

that shape the interactions and perceptions towards and around the linguistic repertoires of coloured gay men have much to do with how language is experienced as ideological categories "external to the subject" (Busch 2012:519) and how ideologies, like normativity, are learned and internalised and therefore form as much part of participants' linguistic repertoires as the ways of speaking used by them. It is also these ideologies that shape when participants choose to foreground or mask particular identities and which ways of speaking to use when doing so.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

UNIVERSITEIT STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

NOTICE OF APPROVAL

REC: Social, Behavioural and Education Research (SBER) - Initial Application Form

26 August 2019

Project number: 10398

Project Title: Coloured gay identity: a sociolinguistic analysis of the intersections between Gayle and Kaaps as performative linguistic varieties

Dear Miss Tasneem Plato

Your response to stipulations submitted on 26 August 2019 was reviewed and approved by the REC: Humanities.

Please note the following for your approved submission:

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
5 August 2019	4 August 2020

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number (10398) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary)

Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Data collection tool	INTERVIEW GUIDE	27/05/2019	
Data collection tool	LANG PORTRAIT	27/05/2019	
Data collection tool	FOCUSGROUP prompts	27/05/2019	1
Default	REC Letter of response 8 July 2019	09/07/2019	
Informed Consent Form	Consentform 22AUG	22/08/2019	2
Research Protocol/Proposal	Proposal FINAL(22 AUG)	22/08/2019	2
Default	REC Letter of response 22 July 2019	22/08/2019	2

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at cgraham@sun.ac.za.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

Appendix B

Letter of consent

UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are invited to take part in a MA study conducted by myself, Ms. T. Plato, from the Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University. You were approached as a possible participant because you are a speaker of Gayle and/or Kaaps and self-identify as a coloured gay male.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

I am currently conducting linguistic research on the intersectionalities of Gayle, a gay linguistic variety in South Africa and Kaaps, a non-standard linguistic variety of Afrikaans. My aim is to investigate how coloured gay men use language to construct identity and belonging, focusing particularly on Gayle and Kaaps.

2. WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete a linguistic portrait whereby you will graphically represent your linguistic repertoire- languages and ways of speaking that are important in your life and participate in a personal interview that will be based on your linguistic portrait. Thereafter, you will be asked to participate in a focus group with other participants who also speak Gayle and/or Kaaps and who also self-identify as coloured gay men. You may use as much or as little time as you'd like to complete the linguistic portrait. However, the interview and focus group will not exceed one hour. Interview questions will be limited to questions about Gayle and/or Kaaps and its association to identity and belonging and the focus group will be directed by six prompts. The interview and focus group will be audio-recorded. Interviews may take place where ever the participant decides, provided that it is not too noisy and that it is safe and comfortable for participants. The focus group will take place where ever all participants feel comfortable, also provided that it is not too noisy and that it is safe for all participants.

Please note that the completion of the linguistic portrait and interview is one process and the focus group is a separate process. Please state whether you like to participate in the interview only, focus group only, or both the interview and focus group, by ticking the box below:

	Interview only
	Focus group only
	Interview and Focus group

3. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Please note that the study is voluntary, and responses are anonymous. Also, when the data is reported, all confidentiality will be maintained. However, I will have limited control over post-discussion behaviours, especially for the focus group, as participants will be aware of who said what. In an attempt to manage such risks and protect the participants, this form includes a non-disclosure of focus group agreement whereby participants agree not to take the discussion out of the focus group. However, if there are any problems, inconveniencies, or discomforts, you may contact myself, Ms. T. Plato (18752896@sun.ac.za) or one of the supervisors of this study: Dr L.D. Mongie (laurenm@sun.ac.za); Dr M. Oostendorp (moostendorp@sun.ac.za).

4. SOCIETY

This study could make a significant contribution to the limited research that exists on the topic under investigation as it could provide insight into the various roles that Gayle and Kaaps plays for the coloured gay community, and shed light on how the social forces that motivate the linguistic practices of this community can be intertwined. The social value of this study lies in the fact that not only are these linguistic varieties still very much in use, they can be viewed as linguistic varieties of identity and belonging for the previously marginalised coloured and gay communities of South Africa and as such, your participation could help this study yield significant insights into the intersectionalities between Gayle and Kaaps with regards to identity and belonging and into the implications that these varieties have for the coloured gay community of South Africa.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will receive no payment for participating in the study. However, if needed, participants will be compensated for transport costs to and from the focus group discussion, and refreshments will be provided at focus group discussion.

6. PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY AND IDENTITY

Any information you share with me during this study and that could possibly identify you as a participant will be protected. As mentioned before, the interview and focus group will be audio-recorded. To ensure confidentiality and/or anonymity, all the audio recordings will be stored on a personal hard drive that only I will have access to. I will also assign every participant a random pseudonym when the data is reported.

7. NON-DISCLOSURE OF FOCUS GROUP CONTENT

Any information that is shared in the course of the focus group is considered privileged. By signing this form, you are agreeing not to disclose any of the content that was discussed in the focus group, including the identities of your fellow participants, and the information that they shared with the group.

8. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you agree to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any consequence. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study.

9. RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact myself, Ms. T. Plato at 18752896@sun.ac.za, Dr L.D Mongie at laurenm@sun.ac.za, or Dr M. Oostendorp at Moostendorp@sun.ac.za.

10. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact Ms. Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development for referral to a counselling centre in your vicinity.

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ *(name of participant)* agree to take part in this research study.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant **Date**

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator,** I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition, I would like to select the following option:

	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this “Consent Form” is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

_____ _____

Signature of Principal Investigator **Date**

Appendix C

Background Questionnaire

To keep your information confidential, please do not write your name or surname on any part of this questionnaire.

Please fill in the following:

AGE	
GENDER	
SEXUALITY	
RACE	
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION	

Thank you!

Appendix D

Language portrait

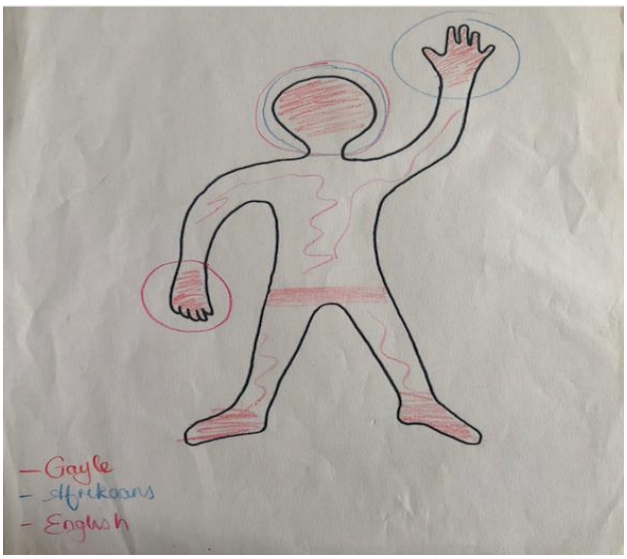
Graphically represent your ways of communicating/ ways of speaking that you use, have used before, or would like to use. You may use the silhouette below or may draw one for yourself on the reverse side of the page. Choose colours to match the different ways of speaking which have a particular meaning for you.

Appendix E

Possible interview questions

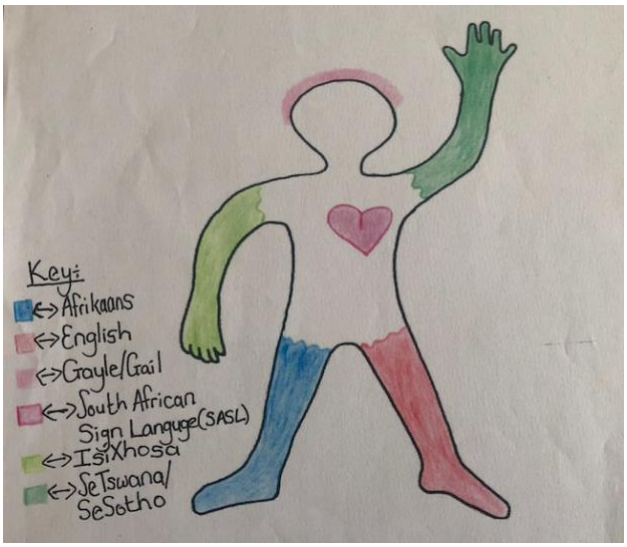
1. Tell me about the different ways of speaking that you have included in your language portrait?
2. What are your reasons for presenting your ways of speaking the way you did?
3. Do you have reasons for linking specific colours to specific ways of speaking?
4. Which ways of speaking displayed here is most important in your life, and why?
5. Are there any ways of speaking you chose not to include here? If so, why?
6. Why have you used X (colour) to represent Y (way of speaking)?
7. Did you in any way use this language portrait to link a way of speaking to a particular identity? Tell me more about this; how did you display this?
8. Do you see any of the ways of speaking represented in this language portrait as superior to any of the others?
9. Why did you put X here instead of putting Y here?
10. What is your reason for adding X here?
11. Why have you dedicated so much space to X?
12. Why have you dedicated so little space to Y?
13. Are there any ways of speaking that you use but did not include in your language portrait, and if so, why? (Follow up, for example, do you speak Kaaps? Do you speak Gayle?)
14. How do using these ways of speaking make you feel?
15. Does anything represented on this language portrait say something about your identity as a gay man or as a coloured man?

Appendix F

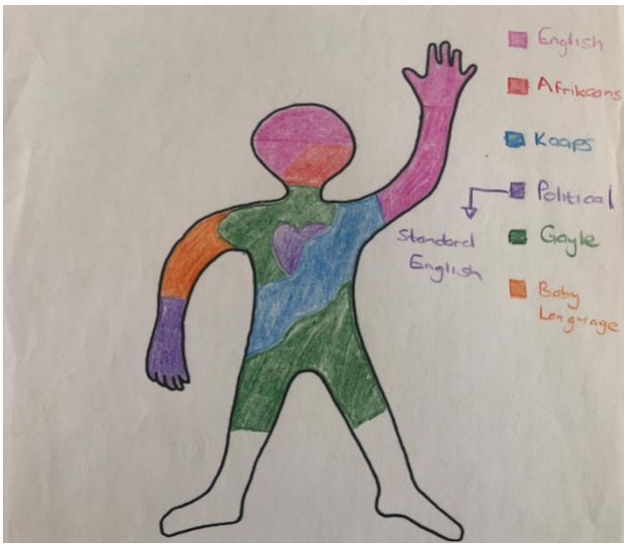


Ashwin's language portrait

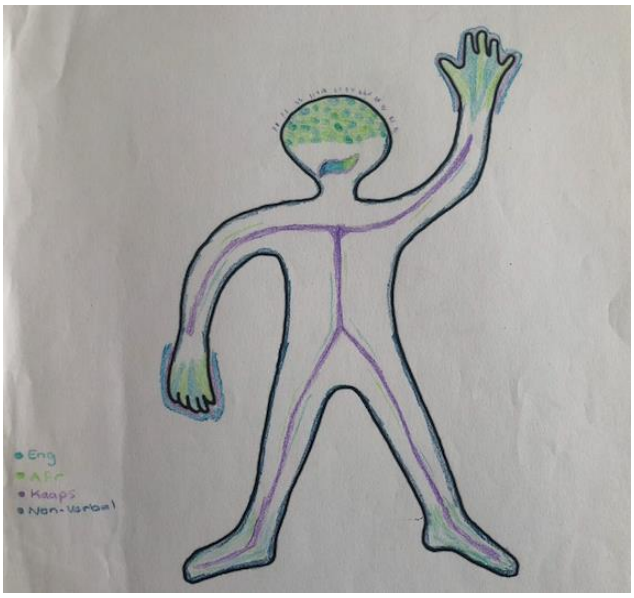
Brent's language portrait



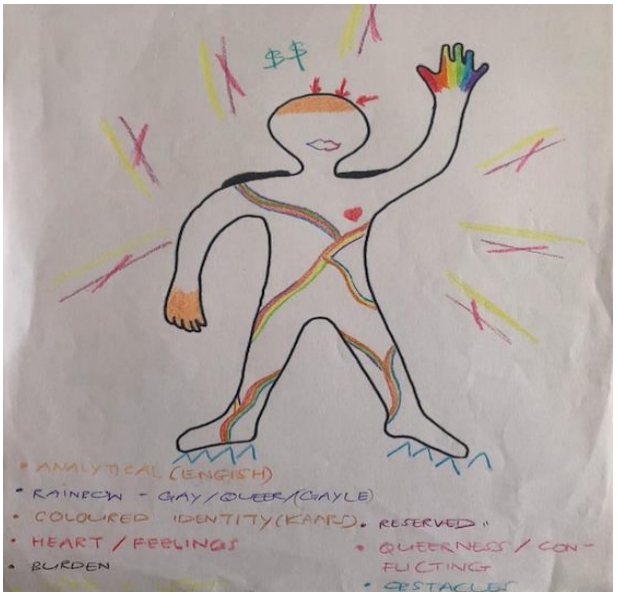
Chad's language portrait



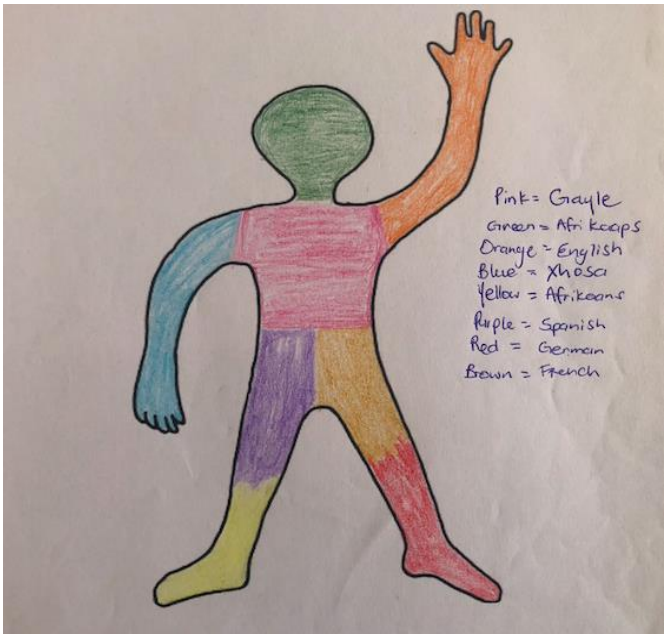
Devin's language portrait



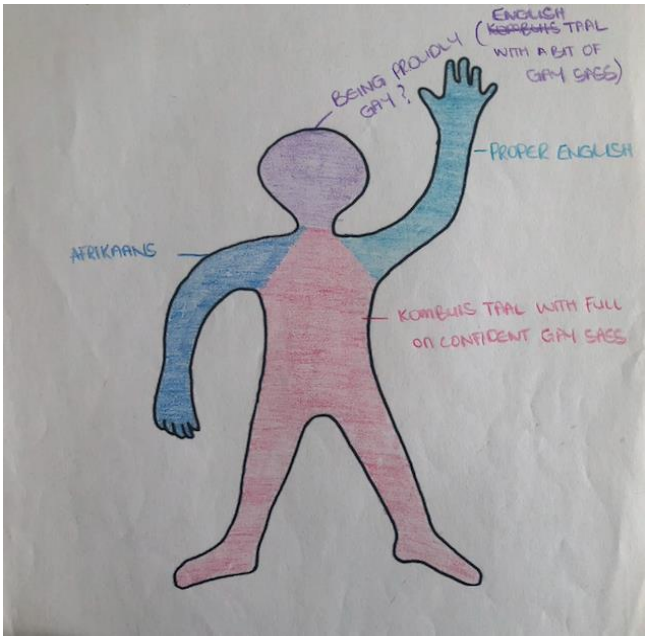
Ernie's language portrait



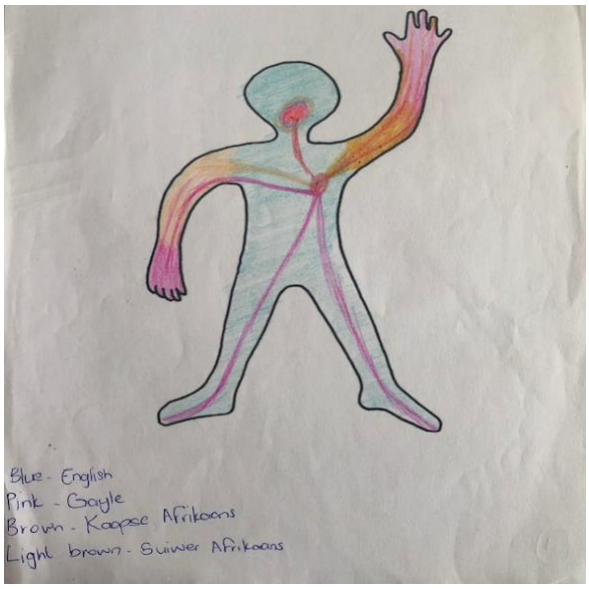
Fabian's language portrait



Gino's language portrait



Haden's language portrait



Ivano's language portrait